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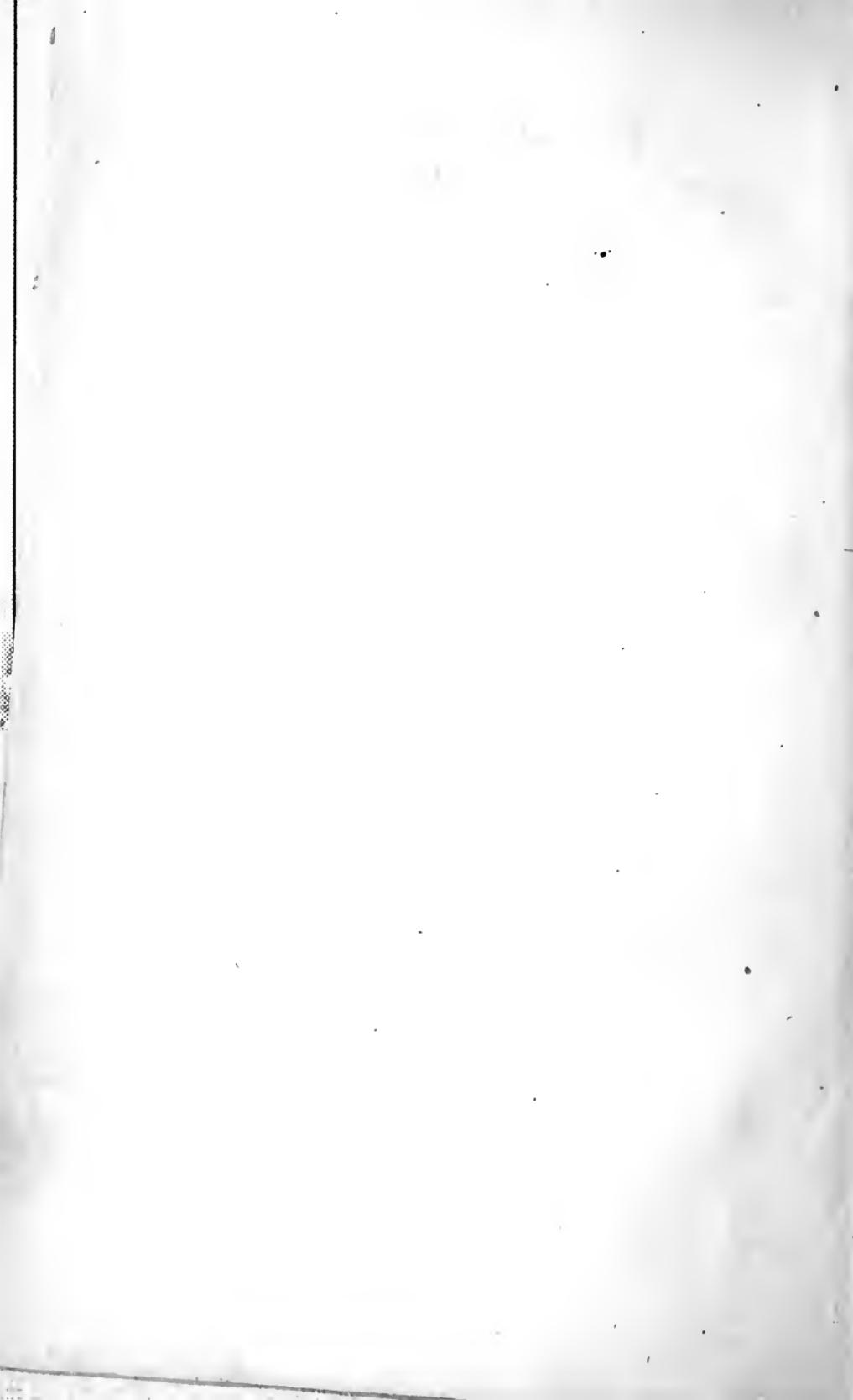
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Meliora:

A Quarterly Review

OF

Social Science

IN ITS

Ethical, Economical, Political, and Ameliorative
Aspects.

VOL. III.

“MELIORA VIDEO PROBOQUE.”

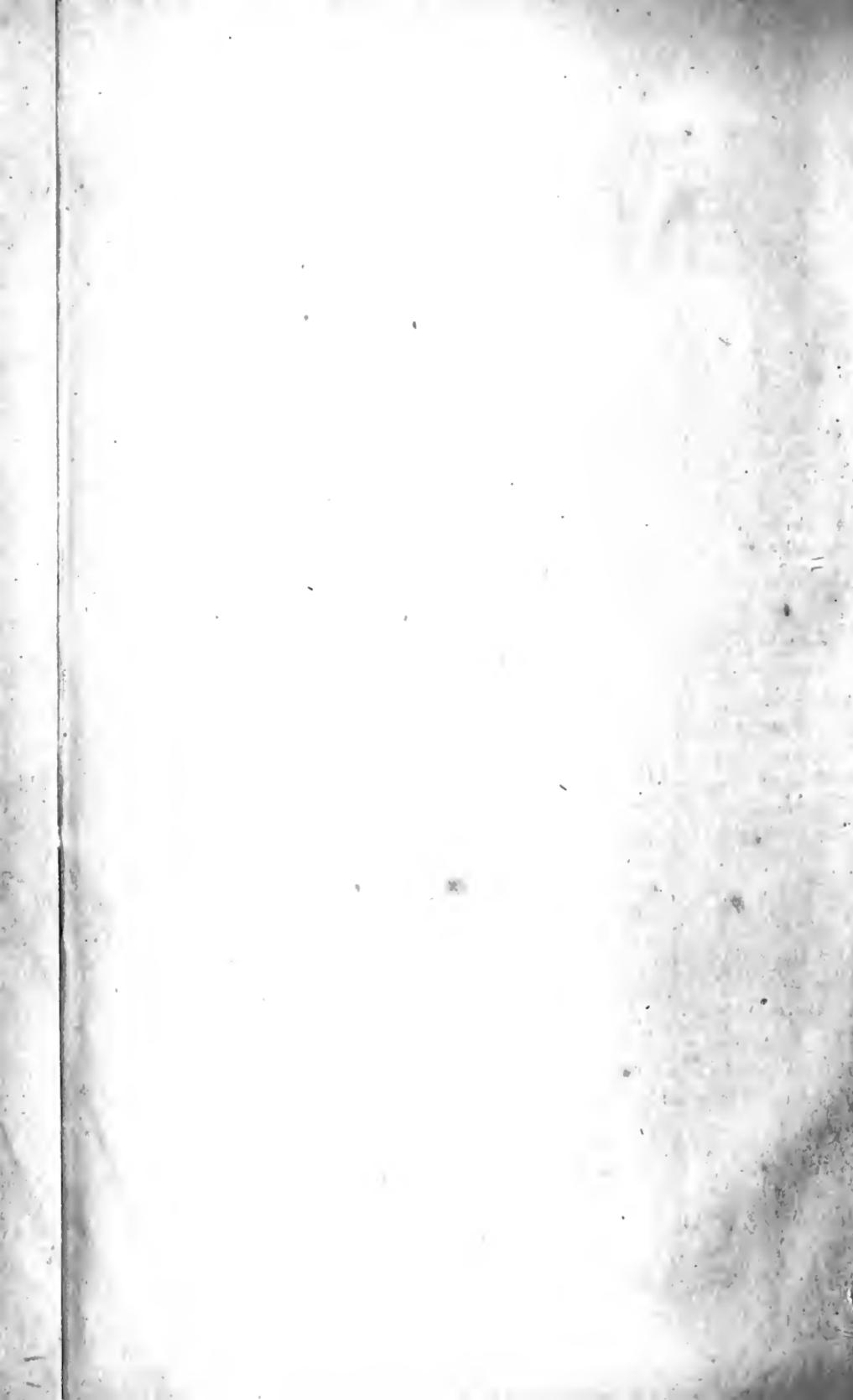
LONDON:

S. W. PARTRIDGE, 9, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1861.

CONTENTS.

	<small>PAGE</small>
THE BLIND -	1
MACAULAY AND HIS WRITINGS -	15
CAUSES AND CURE OF DRUNKENNESS -	39
THE TREATMENT OF OUR LUNATICS -	48
SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES -	64
AN IRISH PATRIOT (FATHER MATHEW) -	80
FREAKS OF FASHION -	97
THE WEST INDIES—PAST AND PRESENT -	107
LABOUR AND MACHINERY -	115
PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY IN AFRICA -	133
THE SOCIAL EVIL -	145
CONTINENTAL SOBRIETY AND MR. GLADSTONE'S WINE BILL -	157
THE CENSUS OF NEW ZEALAND -	171
EPIDEMICS OF FANATICISM -	185
TOBACCO -	201
<u>ROBERT OWEN AND HIS SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY</u>	213
THE FOUNT OF TRUE POETIC INSPIRATION -	222
RAGGED SCHOOLS: THEIR SEED-TIME AND HARVEST -	233
THE FUTURE POLITICAL TACTICS OF TEMPERANCE REFORMERS -	246
EARLY SOCIAL STATE OF NEW SOUTH WALES -	253
ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT -	273
CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES -	295
COLPORTAGE AND BOOK-HAWKING -	311
DOMESTIC SERVANTS -	319
LORD BROUGHAM AND TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION -	330
HODGES THE BLACKSMITH -	343
TEMPERANCE REFORMERS -	348
SOCIAL STATISTICS -	353
OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL -	94
RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS -	174, 205, 356
REVIEWS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS -	179, 268, 359



Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *The Sense Denied and Lost.* By THOMAS BULL, M.D.
Edited by the Rev. B. G. JOHNS, Chaplain of the Blind School,
St. George's Fields. London. Longman and Co., 1859.
2. *Edinburgh Review* for January 1854.
3. *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Eighth Edition. Article, *Blind*.
4. *Reports of Societies for Home Teaching of the Blind*, 1859, 1860.

TO be deprived of any of the five senses which are the gateways of all our knowledge, and the instruments by which we perform our actions, must seriously affect our comfort and our influence ; but when either sight or hearing is denied or lost, the calamity is great. The eye, which, by the aid of light, mirrors the outer world upon the white curtain of its inner chamber, is a wondrous mechanism, and enables the soul to hold communion with nature and with man. Endowed with exquisite beauty, and throwing a halo around the human countenance, the organ of perception by which external things in all their variety of colour and of form are discerned, the human Eye has been with great propriety styled ‘the Queen of the Senses.’ But it owes this place, says a late philosopher,* ‘mainly to the fact that its empire is far wider than those ruled over by its sisters. The ear is enabled to hear the music of the spheres, but in reality is limited in space to those sounds which the earth and its atmosphere yield, and in time to the passing moment. The starry abysses for it are silent, and the past and the future equally dumb. The nostril, the tongue, and the hand are similarly bounded, perhaps even more so ; but the eye so triumphs over space, that it traverses in a moment the boundless ocean which stretches beyond our atmosphere, and takes home to itself stars which are millions of miles away ; and so far is it from being fatigued by its flight, that, as the Wise King said, “it is not satisfied with seeing.” Our only physical conception of limitless infinity is derived from the longing of the eye to see farther than the farthest star. And its empire over time is scarcely less bounded. The future it cannot pierce ; but our eyes are never lifted to the midnight heavens without being visited by light which left the stars from which it comes untold centuries ago ; and suns which had burned out, even before Adam was

* ‘The Five Gateways of Knowledge,’ by the late Dr. George Wilson, p. 25.
Vol. 3.—No. 9. B created,

created, are shown to us as the blazing orbs which they were in those immeasurably distant ages, by beams which have survived their source through all that time.'

By the eye alone can distance be measured. Sound gives very inadequate ideas of extension; but the eye can trace the space which separates planet from planet, star from sun, and can enable the mind to comprehend the vastness of creation. Irradiated with glory from the rays of light, the diversified face of nature spreads out attractions to the sense of sight, and kindles fine conceptions in the imagination. Naturally quick of discernment, it can also be educated in a very high degree. 'The sailor on the look-out can see a ship where the landsman sees nothing; the Esquimaux can distinguish a white fox amidst the white snow; the American backwoodsman will fire a rifle-ball so as to strike a nut out of the mouth of a squirrel without hurting it; the Red Indian boys hold their hands up as marks to each other, certain that the unerring arrow will be shot between the spread-out fingers; the astronomer can see a star in the sky, where to others the blue expanse is unbroken; the shepherd can distinguish the face of every sheep in his flock; the mosaic worker can detect distinctions of colour, where others see none; and multitudes of additional examples might be given of what education does for the eye.*

The blind are, however, deprived of all these advantages of the organ of vision. The visible universe has no charm for them, and it is with difficulty that they can form any idea of space or of distance. They are only conscious of the place they occupy, and to which their extremities can reach. By the ear they can to some extent measure distance; but those vast conceptions which are open to the mind through the view of the boundlessness of nature are quite beyond their ability.† The beauty of colours and their diversified arrangements in nature are closed to them. So are also the fine proportions of form which exercise so strong an influence on the taste, and which have received a high development in art as well as in nature.

'The causes of blindness are various,' says Dr. Bull. 'The born blind, comparatively few in number, may be expected to remain within their present limits. Purulent ophthalmia in infancy, and small-pox in childhood, formerly blinded their thousands; but in later years, with the advance of science and general intelligence, these numbers have greatly diminished. During adolescence, disease and accident bring about the same result, but in a limited degree. From this epoch, through adult life to old age, the causes

* 'The Five Gateways of Knowledge,' by the late Dr. George Wilson, p. 23.

† 'I have been told,' said a blind man to us not long since, 'that the ocean is like an immense green field; but of what use is that? How do I know what a field is, or what green is?'—*Edinburgh Review*, January 1854.

are more numerous and more prolific. Besides disease, accidents in mines and manufactories, trades directly injurious to the sight—above them all, the intense ardour with which business is conducted in these days, and the consequent wear and tear of the constitution, particularly the nervous system, are the most prominent sources of this calamity. It is thus evident that while juvenile blindness is yearly diminishing, adult blindness is on the increase. The statistics of the blind are very imperfect. In Europe, blindness is found to decrease in advancing from the equator to the poles; it being computed in Egypt at the rate of one to three hundred—blindness throughout the East being a far commoner calamity than with us. For this there are many causes. The dust and flying sand, pulverized and reduced to minute particles, enter the eyes, causing inflammation, which being neglected, frequently ends in total loss of sight; while sleeping in the open air, on the roofs of houses, and the consequent exposure of the eyes to the noxious nightly dews, is another source of this malady. A western traveller calculates that there are four thousand blind in Cairo alone. In Great Britain and Ireland there is rather more than one in about one thousand two hundred, which gives an aggregate in this country of nearly thirty thousand. Of these, less than one-fifth are under twenty years of age, the majority of the remaining four-fifths having become blind after this period: for it is a popular mistake to suppose that the adult have once been the adolescent blind; by far the greater majority have never been so.*

It is remarkable how few are born blind in this country compared with the actual number of adults who are deprived of the sense of sight. Dr. Bull states that although he was for nearly twenty-five years physician to the London Lying-in Institution, where there were a thousand births annually, he had not a single case under his observation, and his medical friends informed him that they had never seen one. In the population of this empire there are not more than two thousand five hundred who may be ranked under the list of 'born blind.' Many of these cases arise from infant diseases immediately after birth. Purulent ophthalmia attacks a child sometimes within a week after nativity; and unless this be promptly attended to and controlled, which can be done, sight is rapidly affected and destroyed. Small-pox in this early stage of life has been often followed with the same fatal results to the eye; but this cause, though once more destructive than any other, is seldom seen now. The vast majority of those who suffer from the loss of sight have experienced this sad calamity by accident.

* Bull, p. 4. The 'Edinburgh Review' (January 1854) makes the average in Egypt one in every hundred, in Norway one in a thousand, and in Japan, according to Golownin, no fewer than 36,000 are in the city of Jeddo!

Nature and art have done much to alleviate the affliction of the blind. Other senses have been intensified so as in a great measure to become substitutes for the lost one. These being also highly cultivated reach a perfection not attained by the same faculties in those who see. Some have been remarkable for their quickness of hearing. This organ is more easily educated than any other, and naturally inclines to music. The Red Indian can detect the sounds that echo through the forests, and tell if a beast of prey or of the chase is near. The blind being accustomed to this means of acquiring knowledge and discernment in infancy, have their hearing generally very highly developed. The sounds of voices become the means of knowing friends, and of pronouncing upon the changes which had affected the health or the age of well-known acquaintances. Dr. Bull records a very curious illustration of this in his practice of medicine, even after blindness had set in. 'A few days since,' he says, 'a lady swallowed a small piece of chicken bone, which, sticking in the gullet, caused much pain and some alarm. A portion of bread was masticated, swallowed, and carried with it the foreign body, as was strikingly evidenced to me by the altered tones of the voice. Shortly the sufferer, from a return of pain and uneasiness, feared the bone was still there. My convictions remained unaltered, accounting for the latter fact on the well-known principle, that in all such cases the painful sensation continues long after the foreign body has been dislodged. Time proved the correctness of this opinion.' He also mentions that by the change in the voice of a friend whom he had not met for three or four years, he remarked, 'Has he not become very thin?' which was actually the case. Of course his was a physician's ear attuned to the nicest distinctions in sounds by a long practice; but the blind generally found upon the tones of the voice their impressions of change in their friends, no less than in the recognition of them. By watching the different voices in any company, Dr. Moyes knew the dimensions of the apartment, and how to address himself to those present. By this faculty, we doubt not, the blind have so greatly excelled as musicians.

Touch is the sense by which the blind ascertain the form, size, and density of bodies, and it has been cultivated for the purpose of teaching them to read, and to labour for their bread. By this the mechanical art of composing for the press, and performing all the necessary work in printing, has been acquired by them, and carried out with an accuracy equal to that of those who had sight. Weaving, spinning, sewing, and even embroidery, have also been acquired. Into some institutions the art of turning has been introduced with success, and watchmaking in others. William Huntley, of Barnstaple, was the son of a watchmaker, and was blind from his birth. His father, observing his aptness for mechanical

chanical pursuits, instructed him in his own trade, and he became so expert therein as to succeed his father in the business, and to carry it on with advantage to himself and the town in which he resided. But these higher and more difficult mechanical arts cannot profitably be made to occupy the blind in institutes established for their benefit, for persons in the trade would scarcely employ them. Instances have also been known of still greater advancement in tactile power. The family tailor of Macdonald of Clanronald was blind, yet the tartan dresses were well shaped and sewed. ‘On one occasion he received orders to make his master’s brother, who had lately returned from India, a suit of tartan within a given time, and proceeded to work without delay. It so happened that this gentleman passed at a late hour through the room where the blind tailor was at work, and hearing some low singing, he asked “Who’s there?” to which the poor fellow replied, “It is I, working at your honour’s hose.” “How can you work without a candle?” said he, forgetting that Maguire was blind. “Oh, please your honour,” rejoined the tailor, “mid-night darkness is the same as noonday to me.”’

The olfactory nerves have often been highly developed. Man has not generally been so proficient in their use as his dogs, though to training the latter owe much of their quickness. The Peruvian Indians have been noted for their ability to tell by the sense of smell, in the dark, the different races surrounding them. But the blind have outstripped all in their education of this sense. To them smell is not merely an apparatus for detecting the presence of the various odours that regale, or that disgust. The scent of the air perfumed with honeysuckle and sweetbriar will serve them to guide their way, and the smell of a person becomes the means of recognition. The sense of taste has been with this class the means of increasing their knowledge ; but this and the last-mentioned sense gather their knowledge very slowly, and hence have been less distinguished than some of the others. It may be remarked that the loss of sight has its advantages not less than its disadvantages in the education of the mind. The blind are able to give more undivided attention to any subject of thought, and to pursue without distraction problems of abstract science.

Art has contributed largely to enable the blind to surmount the loss of sight. Modes of education adapted to their condition have been devised by the ingenious and philanthropic, and institutions have been established to afford them an asylum during the period of their instruction. One of the earliest systems was a modification of the Sclavonian alphabet, whose letters were of a square form. Another was by movable letters—a plan which enabled Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh, to educate his two aunts, who were born blind. In the sixteenth century, letters were engraved for

for their use, but this required too delicate touch for general adoption. Pierre Moreau, in 1640, used movable characters cast in lead, but did not meet with encouragement. 'A simpler and more ingenious method than any of these consisted in forming letters by means of pins stuck into large pincushions, leaving out only the heads, which of course were easily felt, and rendered the shape of the letters quite distinct as well as palpable, while the arrangement could be altered at pleasure, and with extreme facility. By this natural and easy plan the celebrated Mademoiselle Paradis learned to read.'* In 1783, the mode which has prevailed over every other was invented in France by Valentine Haüy, and consisted of letters raised or embossed on paper. It was taught in the succeeding year. Great discussions have taken place on the merits of the various embossed systems proposed for the purpose of teaching the blind to read. These controversies have greatly hindered the work of philanthropy, by dividing the benevolent into parties, and wasting means in separate systems of printing. The schemes are of two general classes, and have been styled the *Alphabetical* and the *Arbitrary*. The one retains the letters of the Roman alphabet, while the other uses characters which represent letters, words, and sounds. These two are subdivided into several branches. Of the alphabetical, the best system was invented by Mr. Alston, of Glasgow, a gentleman who interested himself greatly in the condition of the blind, and whose self-denying labours have made his memory fragrant in the commercial capital of Scotland. It meets the wants of the case most fully, and works can be printed on less space and at less cost than by any other. The conditions necessary in a system of instruction for the blind are thus stated: '1. It must resemble as nearly as possible the type in ordinary use among those who had eyesight; (a) that the blind scholar learning to read may have every possible help from words which he may have formerly seen, but which now his fingers must decipher; (b) that he may derive help in learning from any one who can read an ordinary book, or, if needful, that his friend may be able to read to him. 2. It must present the words correctly spelled in full, that when he learns to write, he may do so in a correct manner which others can read. 3. The raised characters must be clear, sharp, and well defined, which the finger hardened by long work, and the keen, soft touch of a little child may be alike able to discern.'† Alston's system satisfies these conditions. Besides this, there are others possessing many advantages, such as the American—on the plan of Alston—the French, and Alston's modified.

* See 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' Art. Blind.

† Johnson's 'Tangible Typography.'

The arbitrary systems are various. Lucas's consists of stenographic characters larger than the whole words in the alphabetic. Frere's is more phonetic, and contains twenty-nine symbols: Moon's invention is ingenious. Each letter of the alphabet 'is formed of two lines only, most of the letters bearing a partial resemblance to those in ordinary use. Nine forms placed in different positions represent the whole alphabet and numerals; one form serving for *a*, *v*, *k*, *l*, and *x*, and another for *e*, *l*, *m*, and *y*, while there are four contracted forms, *ment*, *ing*, *tion*, and *ness*.' The advocates of this system have been loud in its praise, and Dr. Bull asserts that it is best suited to the blind. He at least failed with Frere's and Lucas's, and even in the Roman letter; but he mastered Moon's system in one lesson. Hence he became zealous for the common use of Mr. Moon's plan. He also mentions, among many others, a case of a gentleman who had failed during the occasional efforts of nineteen years to acquire other systems, learning Moon's in two or three days. The majority of the blind who have learnt to read have hitherto done so by the alphabetical system; but it may be improved so as to combine some advantages of the others. A very great objection against the arbitrary and stenographic systems is, the necessity to teach writing by the Roman character. The Rev. B. G. Johns, Chaplain of the Blind School, Southwark, states that 'the Roman letter is as easily learned as Moon's system,' and that 'the adoption of any arbitrary system will do much to cut them [the blind] off still more from communion with their fellow-men, and render their isolation more complete.' The following table will show how the different systems can be carried out in the printing of the New Testament.

Systems.	Number of Volumes.	Number of Pages.	Square Inches in each Page.	Price.
American . . .	2	430	117	0 16 0
Alston's . . .	4	623	90	2 0 0
Lucas's . . .	9	841	70	2 0 0
Frere's . . .	8	733	110	2 10 0
Moon's . . .	9	..	110	4 10 0

The Rev. W. Taylor, of York, says: 'No alphabet seems to possess so many advantages as the Roman alphabet.' Mr. Hughes, the Governor of the Blind School at Manchester, says: 'I would discourage all systems of embossing which could not be read or taught by seeing persons.'

Moon's system has, however, been gaining ground rapidly within the last few years. The societies which have been established for teaching the blind at their own homes—one of the most beneficent modes of conferring the inestimable advantage of

of reading upon this class of persons—have generally adopted Moon's system. Their testimony is, that their pupils, many of whom are adults, have acquired this system with considerable ease. The following extracts from the Report of the Society for 1859 show their successes.

‘An old soldier, who lost his sight forty years ago at Gibraltar, and is now seventy years of age, learnt to read in two lessons.’

‘The oldest pupil who has learnt to read this year is a widow, *seventy-seven years* of age, who accomplished this task in about a month. Another very aged pupil is an old sailor, *seventy-five years* of age, twenty-five of which have been spent in darkness. He had formerly tried another system, and could not feel the letters at all; but he learnt in two or three lessons by Moon's easy system, and can now read the word of God for himself.’

The Edinburgh Society bears a similar testimony:—

‘The result of these efforts has been in the *highest degree satisfactory*. If there was a doubt in the minds of some persons as to the superiority of Moon's system for adults *over all others*, it has now been dispelled. Not only have many of the inmates of the Edinburgh Blind Asylum learnt to prefer Moon's type to every other, but forty blind persons in the city have also acquired the power of reading by it. While much success has followed the introduction of Moon's system into the Edinburgh Asylum, that of Aberdeen has also welcomed it cordially.’

The Liverpool Society report that ‘Moon's system has been selected, because experience has proved it to be the most simple and most easily learned. For those who could read before losing their sight, the work is accomplished in two or three, or even sometimes in one lesson, little more being requisite in these cases than learning the alphabet.’

The Cheltenham Society has been labouring with very great zeal and considerable success. Ten ladies and one gentleman act as teachers, and there are twenty-five blind persons under tuition, whose ages vary from seven to seventy-eight. These are taught to read the Scriptures, to write and cipher, and such mechanical arts as may enable them to earn their own livelihood. They are paid for their work at once, and the articles are afterwards exposed for sale. The following is an extract from the Report for 1860:—

‘The principal objects that recommend this society to notice and support are, the thrift and economy strictly observed; it employs no paid officers; it makes no charge for rent; its expenses are trifling; its chief, almost its only expense, is for materials and printing. Its friends are its instructors as well as its supporters: their work is done voluntarily and cheerfully, and their highest reward, which is their only one, is the hope of doing good. What the society now requires is friends—friends to contribute, friends to teach. With a few friends and small funds it has done some good; with new friends, and larger funds, it hopes to do more. Yet, without anything to boast of, much has been done to be thankful.

thankful for. Not a few have been rescued in part from destitution and dependence, have been reclaimed from idleness and waste of time, have been raised in the scale of usefulness, and been made to feel they are no longer a burden to society, mere cumberers of the ground. Some are able in part to gain a livelihood, more have been taught to read the Word of God; and some, it is humbly hoped, by God's grace and blessing, are enabled from the heart to say for themselves, "Whereas I was blind, now I see."

The same plan has been extending over all the towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and efforts are being made to convey its blessings to the blind throughout the world. These are most important testimonies to the advantages of Mr. Moon's system for adults, and to the success of the societies for teaching the blind at home. We are also told that, out of seventy-one who accomplished learning to read in the first year, twenty of them, including two above seventy years of age, could read at their second or third lesson.'

We hail with pleasure this Home Teaching Society. Its efforts can be performed with great economy, and they confer a lasting blessing on the objects of their solicitude. It is deeply to be regretted that books on Mr. Moon's system cost so much. It prevents the poor blind from getting a library, when the New Testament costs four pounds ten shillings. We trust that this may soon be obviated, and that a literature for the blind may be provided sufficient to guide their minds, not only to the knowledge that is saving, but to other acquirements of learning. There is a 'Society for Printing and Distributing Books for the use of the Blind,' whose labours may do much in this way, especially when the duty is taken off paper.

The blind are taught to write by an apparatus of great simplicity. A ciphering frame has also been devised for them. Geography is taught by means of globes and boards made expressly for them; astronomy, by an orrery and celestial maps, and mathematics by analogous arrangements. Music is acquired with considerable ease, and so are many of the mechanical arts. In almost all institutes for the blind these arts are cultivated to a very great extent—basket-work and matting, making flower-screens, shoes, coloured rugs (the colours being laid in a certain order to the hand), and knitted fancy-work; weaving and spinning. In the Exhibition of 1851 a large stand was filled entirely with their work. In most of the large towns throughout this country, institutions exist and are supported by the charitable, solely for the blind; but the number educated is small compared with the cost.

It now remains that we notice a few of those who, notwithstanding their lost sense, and in most cases ignorant of the alphabet for the blind, have risen to eminence. The number is greater than we can describe within the limited space at our disposal. But it includes poets, historians, musicians, men of science, preachers,

preachers and theologians, linguists and artists, warriors and monarchs. They form a series of chapters in 'the Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties' most stimulating to all, and especially encouraging to those who are similarly afflicted.

‘Poetry,’ says Prescott, ‘from the time of Thamyris and the blind Mæonides down to the Welsh harper and the ballad-grinder of our day, has been assigned as the peculiar province of those bereft of vision :

‘As the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid,
Tunes her nocturnal note.’

The greatest epic poem of antiquity was probably, as that of the modern was certainly, composed in darkness.* Milton lost his sight in 1652, in the midst of his literary activity. He was then only forty-four, but his affliction was enhanced by the bereavement of his wife, who left him with three infant daughters, all under seven years of age. The following sonnet, well known, doubtless, to most of our readers, was written with reference to his calamity :—

‘When I consider how my light is spent
Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
And that one talent which is death to hide,
Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest He, returning, chide :
“Doth God exact day-labour, light denied ?”
I fondly ask : but Patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, “God doth not need
Either man’s work, or his own gifts ;” who best
Bear His mild yoke, they serve Him best : his state
Is kingly ; thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o’er land and ocean without rest :
They also serve who only stand and wait.’

After darkness had settled down upon him, Milton continued his literary industry, and twice entered into matrimony. His daughters were his amanuenses, and they read without understanding the learned tongues to their blind father. Throughout seven years he had been labouring at ‘Paradise Lost,’ and in 1667 he received his five pounds for the first edition of the greatest poem of modern times. ‘Samson Agonistes,’ ‘Comus,’ and ‘Paradise Regained’ were all written after blindness had come on him. Milton had, however, long been familiar with nature, and could recall the memories of sight with which to garnish his poetry. But there have been poets who were entirely cut off from this advantage.

THOMAS BLACKLOCK, born at Annan, in Dumfries-shire, in 1721, lost his sight by small-pox when he was six months old. His

* Prescott’s ‘Essays,’ p. 54.

father read to him the works of Milton, Spenser, Prior, Pope, and Addison ; and the boy evinced an early disposition to poetry. Some of his pieces were shown to an eminent physician, who interested himself in the blind youth, and procured for him the advantage of a classical education at the University of Edinburgh. While there, he published his poems, in 1746. He continued to prosecute his studies until 1759, when he was licensed to preach the Gospel. He also obtained a presentation to a parish ; but the parishioners objecting on account of his blindness, he resigned on a small annuity, and devoted himself to the tuition of youth. In 1767, he received the degree of doctor of divinity from the University of Marischal College, Aberdeen.

In the latter part of last century another blind poet flourished, M. PHEFEL, of Colmar, whose works fill six octavo volumes. Some of them have been translated into French. He kept a military school at Colmar, and had the honour of instructing the sons of some of the best families in the country. Prince Schwartzenberg was among his pupils. Recent years have also added some blind bards to the list of the illustrious, among whom we may mention MISS FRANCES BROWN, whose poems possess considerable melody.

Science has had some illustrious disciples among the blind. Among the ancients, certain philosophers are said by Dionysius Laertius and Thrasylos to have deprived themselves of sight in order to pursue their studies with less distraction ; but Cicero, who relates this story, does not seem to credit it. ‘ Malebranche, when he wished to think intensely, used to close his shutters in the day-time, excluding every ray of light ;’* and Bourdaloue is said to have preached with his eyes shut. Cicero’s own master, Diodatus, taught geometry after he lost his sight, and Euler, the mathematician, pursued his favourite study, and published works upon it, after a similar affliction befel him. But one of the most remarkable men of science, and one who surmounted the privations of his blindness to the greatest extent, was NICOLAS SAUNDERSON. He was born in 1682, and by small-pox was deprived in infancy both of his sight and of the organs of seeing. He was early initiated into the dead languages, which enabled him afterwards to peruse the works of Euclid, Archimedes, and Diophantes in the original Greek. Mathematics was his favourite pursuit, and in this branch he became a master. Some friends aided to send him to Cambridge, where he lectured on optics. Many went to hear a man lecture on light, which he had never seen, and were highly gratified. Sir Isaac Newton sought his acquaintance, and procured for him the Lucasian professorship of mathematics.

* Prescott, p. 52.

Aided by a most powerful and retentive memory, he was able to perform the most difficult calculations in arithmetic, and to work out the most complex geometrical problems. One of the first who thoroughly understood and appreciated Newton's 'Principia,' his commentary on that great work was thought worthy of being printed twenty years after his death. He also composed other valuable mathematical works. 'One fact worthy of remark is, that he found great difficulty in understanding a demonstration of Dr. Halley's, which appeared not very difficult to other geometers; but when he had got a notion of what was wanted, he worked out the same problem in his own way, so as to make it clear to others as well as to himself. Dr. Halley's statement, in fact, involved a *visual* idea, of which probably no one concerned, except the blind man, was aware.'* His notions of God were exceedingly vague, however, and he scarcely appreciated the evidence of design. When told of the faith of Newton, Leibnitz, and Clarke, whom he almost worshipped, he remarked on his dying bed, 'The testimony of Newton is not so strong for me as that of Nature was for him. Newton believed on the word of God himself, while I am reduced to believe on that of Newton. . . God of Newton, have mercy on me!'

There are other names of the blind well known in the annals of science. HUBER of Geneva was a naturalist of the highest order, and made more discoveries respecting bees and ants than any former observer. He used the eyes of others—especially a faithful servant—for his observations, but he was indebted to his own abilities for his philosophy. 'Thus he clearly proved that there are two distinct sets of bees in every hive—honey-gatherers and the wax-makers and nurses; that the larvæ of working bees can, by course of diet, be changed to queens: thus also he accurately described the sanguinary conflicts of rival queens, the recognition of old companions or of royalty by the use of the antennæ; thus he explained the busy hum and the unceasing vibration of wing ever going on in the hive as being necessary for due ventilation.'†

JOHN GOUGH, of Kendal, was also a famous mathematician, and an accurate botanist and zoologist. He lost his sight in his third year, yet was able to distinguish plants by the touch of his fingers. As a zoologist, Coleridge tells us that he could correct the mistakes of keen sportsmen as to birds and vermin. He was an accomplished teacher of mathematics, and had among his pupils the celebrated Dr. Dalton, of Manchester, and Dr. Whewell, now Master of Trinity, Cambridge. Dr. MOYES, of Kirkaldy, was an itinerant lecturer on chemistry and optics, though blind; and Dr. Carpenter mentions ‡ 'the case of a blind friend of his own,

* Bull, p. 92.

† 'Edinburgh Review,' January 1854.

‡ 'Principles of Human Physiology.'

who

who has acquired a very complete knowledge of conchology, both recent and fossil, and who is not only able to recognize every one of the numerous specimens in his own cabinet, but to mention the nearest alliances of a shell previously unknown to him, when he has thoroughly examined it by the touch.'

Blind **MUSICIANS** are well known. Among the Egyptian tablets disentombed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, blind men are represented as professional musicians. 'The last and most famous of Irish bards' was Carolan, who lost his sight in infancy. He lived in the seventeenth century, and made very high attainments in music. He was able to appreciate the excellencies and even to detect the imperfections of fine Italian pieces. A curious story is told of his sense of touch. 'When he grew to manhood there was a time when his harp would sound only of love, under the impulse of a passion he had conceived for Bridget Cruise. The lady did not unite her love with his ; and after a while he loved and married another, named Mary Maguire. Many years after, he went on a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, a cave in the island of Loughderg, Donegal, and on returning to the shore, met several pilgrims waiting the arrival of the boat that conveyed him. On assisting some of these into the boat, his hand unexpectedly met one which caused him to start, and he instantly exclaimed, "This is the hand of Bridget Cruise !" His sense of feeling had not deceived him ; it was the hand of her he had once loved so passionately.' This fact is said to have been communicated to the narrator by himself. Ossian, the greatest of the Celtic bards, was also blind. Stanley, the author of the oratorios 'Jephthah' and 'Zinoi,' and organist of All Hallows, Bread Street, London, was blind. Mademoiselle Paradis, of Vienna, lost her sight when two years old, but became one of the delights of Parisian concerts. Many others might be mentioned in this department, but we can only name Picco, the blind Sardinian minstrel, whose strains have charmed many audiences of late.

The **CHURCH**, too, has had some theologians and preachers who were blind. Jerome tells us of Didymus of Alexandria, who lost his sight at five years of age, and who flourished in the fourth century. Besides the acquisition of languages and mathematics, he became a theologian, and published a treatise on the Holy Spirit, which was translated by Jerome into Latin, and is published among the works of that father.* He was a disciple of Origen, and one of the last public teachers of that father's errors. On account of this his works were condemned by the Council of the Lateran. Dr. Blacklock, already referred to among the poets,

* Many extracts from, and references to this work of Didymus may be found in Owen's 'Pneumatologia,' or work on the Holy Spirit. Works, vol. iii.

was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Waddel, an eminent and eloquent minister of the American Presbyterian Church, was blind for many years. The Rev. W. H. Milburn, for some time Chaplain to the American Congress, lost his sight almost entirely in youth, and could only see as much as one letter of the alphabet in a word at a time. Nevertheless, he read books at that slow rate. By the assistance of others he passed through a collegiate education, and became a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. For a number of years he itinerated over the length and breadth of the land, and became a popular preacher. Many in this country had an opportunity, two years ago, of listening to his eloquence. We know another preacher blind from his early youth, who passed through the University of Glasgow, and obtained a prize in the Greek class. He then studied theology for several years, and, after the usual examination in classics, philosophy, ecclesiastical history, and theology, was licensed to preach the Gospel by one of the Presbyteries of his Church. We have heard him conduct divine service, during which he repeated from memory the psalms to be sung, and whole chapters of the Bible, and preached with considerable eloquence.

The blind are noted for their memory, therefore it is not surprising that they should excel as historians, philosophers, and linguists. Nicaise of Malignes, blind from three years old, became Professor of Canon and Civil Law in the University of Cologne in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, Sheghius taught philosophy and medicine in the University of Tubingen, and published several treatises. Schomberg, in the sixteenth century, taught belles-lettres at Altorf, Leipzig, and Hamburg. Bourchenu de Valbonais, of Grenoble, in the same era, published the 'History of Dauphiné,' in two folio volumes. Prescott, the able and eloquent historian of Ferdinand and Isabella, and lately deceased, was for some years deprived of his sight. During the season of his darkness he still pursued his studies, and wrote and published histories. Dr. Bull, the author of two able medical works on maternal management, was for the last eight years of his life deprived of sight, yet he prepared a work on 'The Sense Denied and Lost,' in which he describes many interesting details relative to blindness. Lord Cranborne, blind from his childhood, published, a few years ago, a history of France for children. Thierry, the great French historian, is to be included in the same class.

In modelling and sculpture, too—the most difficult attainments for the blind—some have evidenced great proficiency. 'M. de Piles saw in Italy a blind man, a native of Cambassy in Tuscany, who was a very good designer. M. de Piles met him in the Justiniani Palace, where he was modelling in wax a statue of Minerva.

Minerva. By means of touch he had seized with precision the forms and proportions of the original. The Duke of Bracciano, who had seen him working, doubted whether he was completely blind, and, in order to put the matter to the test, he caused the artist to take his portrait in a dark cave. It proved a striking likeness. We are also told of Giovanni Gambasio, of Volteno, who became an excellent statuary, and was employed by the highest personages in Italy. He executed a statue of Pope Urban VIII. for the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. John, one of the kings of Bohemia, and the present King of Hanover, rank among blind monarchs; and Zisca, the Bohemian general, performed great acts of valour after the loss of his sight.

Many most entertaining stories might be told of the facility with which the blind can travel from place to place, but these are familiar to all our readers by means of living illustrations in their immediate localities. What we have stated of the number of blind persons in the world, the means of instruction now being employed, the institutions erected on their behalf, the abilities which so many of them have displayed, may enlist the sympathy and draw forth the aid of all our readers in ameliorating the condition of this class of persons. By means of home teaching, ladies with leisure at their disposal may find an appropriate sphere of usefulness.

ART. II.—1. *Critical and Historical Essays.* Contributed to the Edinburgh Review.

2. *The History of England from the Accession of James II.*
3. *The Lays of Ancient Rome.*
4. *Speeches by the Right Hon. Lord Macaulay.* London: Longman and Co.

JUDGING from such notices as we have read, it would seem difficult for the critics of the day to speak of this eminent man in other terms than those of extreme admiration, or of not much less extreme dislike. The way in which the whole stock quiver of superlatives has, on this occasion, been precipitately emptied, and its contents indiscriminately applied, reminds us of a passage of Lord Macaulay's own. He remarks, in reference to a certain successful speech, that it was said of it, 'that it was more ornamented than the speeches of Demosthenes, and less diffuse than those of Cicero.' 'This unmeaning phrase,' he continues, 'has been quoted a hundred times; that it should ever have been quoted except to be laughed at, is strange: the vogue which it has obtained may serve to show in how slovenly a way most people are content to think.' A truer observation has very seldom been made; and we dare

dare say the recollection of our readers has not any very difficult or distant journey to travel back for the discovery of illustrations in professional criticisms on Lord Macaulay himself. Where there are no bounds, neither is there any centre, and there reigns only a futile and impracticable vague. This we, for our part, would fain eschew. In short, a characterization that, with precision of limit, shall possess a coherent, reasoned interior of discernment and discrimination—this is our object ; and, if we fail in its accomplishment, we can assure our readers that it will be against our own best efforts.

To those who look forward to the triumphs of literary or political life, the career of Macaulay is no less instructive than interesting. What elements of success were given him, and, still more, what elements of success he himself brought, deserve, on the part of all such aspirants, the very closest attention. If it be true, as regards the former of these considerations, that he seems, from the very first, to have been borne, as it were, on supporting hands, steadily onwards, from place to place, and from honour to honour, till ambition the very greediest would have called content—no less true is it that, but for the second consideration, but for the elements of success which he himself brought, these places would never have been held, and these honours could never have been accorded. Had the youth displayed no talent, had he written no prize poems, had he not shone in the Union Debating Club, all the wealth of Zachary Macaulay, his father, and all the influence of Wilberforce, his friend, would have been powerless to aid—would have been powerless to extract from Lord Brougham one single word of that long letter of advice which, received in young Macaulay's twenty-third year, must have exercised a most valuable influence on his whole character and subsequent progress. But more, in addition to talent, and in addition to study, had not the youth possessed a rare sobriety of judgment, a rare perseverance of effort, and a rare concentration of purpose, all the other elements would have still been futile. It is to the union of these elements that we must attribute both the steadily progressive advance, and the splendid ultimate result that crowned it. The irregularities, the impetuosity, the passions, even the conscientious scruples of genius, have often rendered nugatory the wisest plans of parental experience ; and we doubt very much that old Zachary's scheme would have attained an equal success, had his son been such as Burns or Byron, as Shelley or Coleridge, or even as the steady and persevering but keen-tempered Carlyle.

In truth, it is very rare to see the means of parents, the influence of friends, the powers of talent, the application of study, and the pertinacity of effort so long and so uninterruptedly exerted on a single object. The reader, perhaps, has a difficulty in realizing to himself

himself our meaning here. It wants, however, but one word to make the whole case plain to him. Throughout the entire course of his life, even from very early student days, Thomas Babington Macaulay did nothing but,—in its own first words,—‘ write the history of England from the accession of James II. down to a time which is within the memory of men now living.’ He directly admits this: he speaks of his history as ‘a work which is the business and the pleasure of his life.’ His Essays are no less explicit. With exceptions that hardly need be noticed, the whole of them relate to that object, and several of them are actual draughts of that whole history. Consider them—Milton, Hallam’s ‘Constitutional History of England,’ Bunyan, Hampden, ‘Burleigh and his Times,’ ‘The War of the Spanish Succession,’ Horace Walpole, Sir James Mackintosh’s ‘History of the Revolution,’ William Pitt, Bacon, Sir William Temple, Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, ‘The Comic Dramatists of the Restoration,’ Samuel Johnson, Frederick the Great, Madame d’Arblay, Addison, and the Earl of Chatham;—do not they relate, all of them, to the historical period in question, and have we not perhaps been too fastidious in omitting from the list Ranke’s ‘History of the Popes,’ and even Southey’s ‘Colloquies,’ and Gladstone ‘On Church and State?’ Again, to stoop closer, may not the Milton, the Hallam, the Hampden, the Burleigh, the Mackintosh, and others, be regarded as successive sketches and *réchauffées* of the whole theme? It may be said, indeed, that it was not literature that his parents and friends, at all events, most probably aimed at; but our readers will have no difficulty in perceiving that even Macaulay’s political life subserved, in reality, the same plan: it supplied him with means, and it extended to him the special experience necessary for the peculiar history he contemplated.

Thus then, parents, friends, position, study, and inclination, all working together to a common end, triumph was their due, and triumph came.

But the concentration of endeavour is, on the part of Macaulay, even greater than we have yet named. A favourite position of Thomas Carlyle, in some of his earlier essays, is, that David Hume constitutes the intellectual king of these days. By this he means that the opinions, the ideas, the system of thought, the general mode and manner of intellectually looking at, and judging matters, which characterized that philosopher, had become the common thinking property, the common thinking furniture of the majority of leading men. Of course Carlyle by no means intends to intimate that all these leading men are of necessity sceptics, or infidels, or bound to each and every special opinion of David Hume, but simply that a certain general cast of mind, which, in the case of this celebrated man, had attained to great completeness

and distinctness of development, had been inherited and adopted by them. In this sense, we find ourselves constrained to say that the intellectual father of Lord Macaulay was eminently David Hume. We fancy it is always with a sense of secret satisfaction and inward complacency that Macaulay mentions the very name of Hume. He talks of him with unctious as ‘a great historian,’ and seems to linger with fond admiration over his ‘narrative which is likely to last as long as the English tongue.’ The present generation is perhaps, on the whole, not quite disposed to extend so much of its favour to David Hume, and may question the position we assume. But one glance at the last generation, with its Godwins, Bentham, Molesworths, with even its Sir James Mackintoshes and Lord Jeffreys, will suffice for the perception of an anterior probability in regard to our opinion; and a consideration of the mental points of view common to such men as Mill and Buckle in our own day will probably confirm it.

What we would allege then is, that the young ambition of Macaulay—nay, that the enduring, life-long ambition of Macaulay—was to find himself side by side with David Hume, as the continuator of his history, and as an inseparably conjunct and equal classic. For this he amassed, even while at college, and year after year industriously afterwards, all those great stores of reading and information that bore directly or indirectly on his one subject. For this he tried himself in relevant periodical papers, and feared no waste; for he said to himself cheerily and proudly: ‘One day, in the long evening of my life, I will throw over these, connecting them into oneness, the bulk of an entire history, and this history, over these essays, shall be as the great dome of a cathedral that closes unitingly over its many rich and splendid chapels.’ But the will of man on earth can never assure itself of identity with the will of God in heaven; and Macaulay, when he had executed, with uninterrupted exactitude and complete success, three-fourths of the programme he had set himself, vanished from among us, leaving in consternation before the gap of an unparalleled fragment the largest assembly of spectators that any single historian had ever seen around him.

In our view, then, the life-long aim that determined the general action of Lord Macaulay was eminently simple. A like simplicity, and of identical origin, distinguished his character, as well as all his principles, literary, political, philosophical, and religious. In fact, all that to analysis is summed up in the name David Hume, is centrally operative in these also. And yet, at first view, the two men seem directly antagonistic. Hume was a Tory, Macaulay is a Whig; Hume was a sceptical metaphysician, Macaulay has abandoned metaphysics; Hume ridiculed the church, Macaulay attends the church; Hume swore by Pope and sniffed at Shakespeare,

speare, Macaulay swears by Shakspeare and sniffs at Pope. Positions more diametrically opposite, and on the most important concerns of humanity, political, philosophical, religious, literary, it is impossible to find. Still it is our deep belief that no single phrase can more completely and comprehensively describe Thomas Babington Macaulay than this: he is David Hume in the nineteenth century, conformed to the church, and author of the continuation of 'The History of England.'

In truth, Hume was a Tory by Jacobitic predilection only: he was a Whig in principle—so far, at least, as we are to name that principle from the practice of the present day. What, in fact, is the system of thought that David Hume is held to represent? In one word, it is the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Now, to most of us, that one word is suggestive only of infidelity, free-thinking, deism, atheism, of scepticism in religion, of sensualism in philosophy, and of republicanism in politics. Still to apply any of these terms to the philosophy of the eighteenth century would be to name it badly, for, though the doctrines and opinions implied in such expressions are certainly concomitants and attendants of that philosophy, they are, in reality, only phenomenal and temporary forms. English thinkers, whichever side they have taken, have been content to remain with a very indistinct, obscure, and confused consciousness on these points; and the consequence is, that at this moment we know of no single really intelligent and fully enlightened discussion of this subject in the English language. The Germans, on the contrary, have coolly turned upon it, lifted it, looked at it, and examined it piecemeal, till now, having at length fairly filled and satisfied themselves with what of instruction, negative or positive, they could extract from it, they have long since packed it up, and laid it on the shelf labelled *Aufklärung*, a word which, meaning in its ordinary use simply enlightenment—up-lighting or lighting-up—and badly rendered *éclaircissement* by Mr. Sibree, may be here translated, with reference at once to the special up-lighting implied, and a certain notorious exposition of that up-lighting, the 'Age of Reason.' Now, into this subject it is not our cue to enter; it suffices our objects to say at once that the fundamental principle of the *Aufklärung*, of the up-lighting, of the 'age of reason,' of the philosophy of the eighteenth century is, in one of Lord Macaulay's favourite phrases, the right of private judgment. This really constituted the spiritual attitude of humanity—its principle—in the eighteenth century; and the majority of the reproaches usual in this connexion concern not that attitude, not that principle, but a variety of secondary or temporary phenomena, necessarily or contingently concomitant.

It will have already suggested itself perhaps, then, to our readers, that this phrase, right of private judgment, still tinged, be

it observed, with the peculiar colours of its peculiar birth-time, is very fairly capable of being named the leading principle in the political, philosophical, and religious opinions of Lord Macaulay. Our space allows us only to touch such points; but we hope that the touch, light as it is, will elicit such sparks as may enable the reader to follow, more or less adequately, the general course of our thought here.

The philosophical opinions of Lord Macaulay are neither complicated nor abstruse. In his system the *à priori* has no place; everything must demonstrate its legitimacy to him *à posteriori* and by induction. 'All systems,' he says, 'religious, political, or scientific, are but opinions resting on evidence more or less satisfactory.' With metaphysics he will not meddle; they are beyond the province of humanity. The speculations of Hume in this field, with his 'Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding,' his investigation of the theory of morals, and his discourses of Palamedes concerning the state Fourli—these speculations have no other result in the eyes of Macaulay than to demonstrate the impossibility of any rational solution on such subjects; accordingly he accepts this conclusion and will inquire no further. All, however, that Hume can teach him about 'the liberty of the press,' 'the principles of government,' 'the science of politics,' 'parliament,' 'parties,' 'civil liberty,' 'commerce,' 'luxury,' the 'balance of trade,' 'passive obedience,' and the 'Protestant succession,' he learns with avidity. Adam Smith, too, he makes his own. It is in the same spirit that he recurs to Bacon as to 'the great apostle of experimental science.' 'Bacon,' he says, 'said nothing about the grounds of moral obligation or the freedom of the human will,' but he was mightily concerned about 'utility and progress.' These then, utility and progress, are to Macaulay the only recommendations. 'An acre in Middlesex is better,' he says, 'than a principality in Utopia.' And he has no patience with that philosophy which 'fills the world with long words and long beards, and leaves it as wicked and as ignorant as before.' He ridicules Cicero and Seneca for that, disdaining to supply, they preposterously seek to set us above, the wants of humanity. He agrees with Bacon that 'the earlier Greek speculators, Democritus in particular, were superior to their more celebrated successors; and of these latter he says: 'Assuredly if the tree which Socrates planted and Plato watered, is to be judged of by its flowers and leaves, it is the noblest of trees; but if we take the homely test of Bacon, if we judge of the tree by its fruit, our opinion of it may be less favourable.'

Lord Melbourne is represented to have said once—'I wish that I was as sure of any one thing as Tom Macaulay is sure of everything.' Our task here is exposition and not discussion; still we cannot help remarking that the infallible correctness ascribed by

Lord

Lord Melbourne to Macaulay, demonstrates itself, in one or two of these passages, as, after all, human. Democritus, for example (though why the inventor of the atomic theory—so wonderfully complete in almost every detail too, and the great ancient apostle of materialism—should be so much of a favourite with both Bacon and Macaulay is very plain to us), was not earlier than Socrates, but probably several years younger. At all events, he was undoubtedly contemporary with Socrates, and long survived him. The dates of Socrates are B.C. 469-399. Democritus is said by the latest authorities to have been born in the year B.C. 460, nine years after the birth of Socrates ; and he is universally admitted to have reached a great age, no less, according to some, than that of 104 years. Even should we assume B.C. 470 as the birth-year of Democritus, the state of the case would remain essentially the same. Then, again, it is too bad, and indeed rather unlucky, that Macaulay should at all quarrel with Socrates, for, in truth, Socrates is the father and founder of the very system of thought professed by Bacon and by his critic after him. The age of Pericles was also an ‘age of reason,’ an era of ‘up-lighting,’ and the principle then was the principle now, the right of private judgment. For this condition of thought, Socrates was, though not by any means wholly, largely responsible, and he fell a victim to the offended traditional institutions which that principle insulted. But, this apart, there is another and a stronger reason why Socrates should be considered the father and founder of the system of thought which, since the time of Bacon, has been established among us, and it is this : Socrates was certainly the originator of generalization. This is indisputable ; Socrates invented the express, the methodic, the scientific investigation of general ideas, just as certainly as Newton invented the theory of gravitation, and much more certainly than that Bacon was the first to recall attention—such is the merit assigned him by Macaulay—to the method of induction by experiment.

Be this as it may, and passing to the political creed of Macaulay, we find this latter of a similar colour to the philosophical. ‘Political science,’ according to him, ‘is progressive and experimental like the rest.’ ‘Ever since I began to observe,’ he remarks, ‘I have been seeing nothing but growth, and hearing of nothing but decay.’ Accordingly, he has no patience with the *laudatores temporis acti*, but declares them to be ‘as ignorant and shallow as people generally are who extol the past at the expense of the present.’ He affirms that ‘the more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils ; the truth is, that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old ; that which is new is the intelligence which discerns and the humanity

humanity which remedies them.' As regards government, then, he is clearly for the doctrines of the political economists, and stands unreservedly by an almost absolute *laissez faire*. To all poetic theories that bear on the past, he answers by bills of mortality and tables of statistics. Social evils, in his view, must in general correct themselves ; he will have no intermeddling, and confesses to a horror of all paternal government. He knows of no infallible opinion. He asks who are the wisest and best. And whose opinion is to decide that ? He declares government unfit to direct our opinions, or superintend our private habits ; and he sums up the whole duty of the state thus :—' Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the nation by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties, by leaving capital to find its most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment, by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the state.'

It is evident, then, that Macaulay's political and philosophical principles go hand in hand, and that they all take origin in the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Indeed, he makes no secret of this : he openly eulogizes the Encyclopædists ; and it is with great complacency that he is able to assert, ' By this time the philosophy of the eighteenth century had purified English Whiggism from that deep taint of intolerance which had been contracted during a long and close alliance with the Puritanism of the seventeenth century.'

This sentence brings us, by an obvious transition, to the consideration of Macaulay's religious principles ; and in these, too, we shall find him a genuine son of the philosophy of the eighteenth century. The reader, however, must take great care not to misunderstand us here. We are not going to prove Macaulay an infidel : such a charge were simply the very last we should think of bringing. What may be called his private religious feelings, Lord Macaulay never obtruded on the world, and we are not going to invade them. What we have to do with here is wholly and solely the *public* religious principles of Lord Macaulay. These principles, indeed, two words shall name for us at once, and these two words are—Universal Toleration. In his own language, ' he is as averse to Laud on the one hand as to Praise-God-Barebones on the other ; as averse to the Puritan as to the Catholic, as averse to the High Churchman as to the Independent. Exeter Hall is to him a place of intolerance ; he sneers at its ' bray,' and speaks with contempt of ' its prescriptive right to talk nonsense.' In such sentiments, it is plain, he is David Hume all but *in propriâ personâ*. He is the supporter of an established church, but were there no poor

poor people, were there only rich people, he would be a voluntary; and, meantime, the true arrangement appears to him to be, the establishment of Episcopacy in England, of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and of Roman Catholicism in Ireland. Withal, he is a friend to the dissenters, and will stand up manfully were even a Unitarian attacked. (Speech, June 6, 1844.)

The reader who will take the trouble to examine the essays on Gladstone on 'Church and State,' and on Ranke's 'History of the Popes,' will find a host of passages confirmatory of our position. He rejoices, for example, 'in the immense strides that we have made, and continually make, in mathematics and the sciences,' but he complains that 'with theology the case is very different.' He says, 'As regards natural religion, we are no better off now than Thales or Simonides.' The argument from design was as well known by them as by us; and 'the immortality of the soul is as indemonstrable now as ever.' 'It is a mistake,' he asserts, 'to imagine that subtle speculations touching the divine attributes, the origin of evil, the necessity of human actions, the foundation of moral obligation, imply any high degree of intellectual culture. Such speculations, on the contrary, are, in a peculiar manner, the delight of intelligent children and of half-civilized men.' 'But,' he goes on to say, 'neither is revealed religion of the nature of progressive science;' and he remarks, significantly, that 'Catholic communities have, since the end of the sixteenth century, become infidel and become Catholic again; but never have become Protestant.' 'It seems to him that we have no security for the future against the prevalence of any theological error that ever has prevailed in time past among Christian men;' and of the Roman Catholic Church he observes: 'When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish.' He thinks of Sir Thomas More and his belief in transubstantiation, of Samuel Johnson and certain of his foibles, of such subtle intellects as Bayle and Chillingworth becoming, after years of scepticism, Catholics, and so, 'for these reasons, he has ceased to wonder at any vagaries of superstition.' Very Humian is the remark: 'It is by no means improbable that zealots may have given their lives for a religion which had never effectually restrained their vindictive or their licentious passions.' Here, too, is a touch as if by the very pen of the same master; remarking of sects that, in power, they are bigoted, insolent, and cruel, he adds that, 'when out of power, they find it barbarous to punish men for entertaining conscientious scruples about a garb, about a ceremony,' &c. The same spirit is seen in this: 'We frequently see inquisitive and restless spirits, after questioning the existence of a Deity, bring themselves to worship a wafer.' Passages of this kind abound in

in Macaulay, and even others of a still more Humian type, but these must suffice.

There is, however, a class of turns in Macaulay which have been ascribed to the circumstances of his early breeding, but which we are disposed to attribute to the same influence of Hume. Of these we should wish to give here a sample or two. Speaking in his history of Wharton, he remarks: 'His father was renowned as a distributor of Calvinistic tracts, and a patron of Calvinistic divines: the boy's first years were past amidst Geneva bands, heads of lank hair, upturned eyes, nasal psalmody, and sermons three hours long.' This description is so applicable to the circumstances of Macaulay's own boyhood, that surely, if we are to ascribe the use of such language to his early breeding, it must be by means of the principle, not of action, but of reaction. In fact, there cannot be a doubt that the feeling at the bottom of such phrases is one not of reverence, but of latent derision. Macaulay, in truth, has a weakness for what we shall name a patrician or aristocratic subrisson. He tells us, for example, that the French courtiers 'sneeringly' remarked of their grand monarque, that he was in the right 'not to expose to serious risk a life invaluable to his people.' The sneer here is unconcealed then; and there can be no doubt that when he speaks of being brought to worship a wafer, as in a sentence just quoted, he is there, too, in the act of enjoying a gentle subrisson. Now it appears to us that the following sentences are constructed on a similar model; and, if allowed to be subrisory, they must be pronounced eminently Humian.

'Those sectaries had no scruple about smiting tyrants with the sword of Gideon.' 'Here and there an Achan had disgraced the good cause by stooping to plunder the Canaanites, whom he ought only to have smitten.' 'Crawford was what they called a professor; his letters and speeches are, to use his own phraseology, exceeding savoury.' 'They invited Amalek and Moab to come back and try another chance with the chosen people.' 'These pious acts, prompted by the Holy Spirit, were requited by an umtoward generation with,' &c. 'A pious, honest, and learned man, but of slender judgment and half crazed by his persevering endeavours to extract from Daniel and the Revelations some information about the Pope and the King of France.'

If these extracts be compared with the quotations in reference to Wharton and Louis XIV., no reader can mistake the true nature of their spirit. The turn in the last, indeed, is quite unmistakable without collation, and would hardly satisfy Dr. Cumming or the author of the 'Coming Struggle.' We had marked several other passages for quotation; but we think that sufficient evidence has now been adduced to establish the truth of our assertion, that the public religious position of Macaulay is very similar to that

that of David Hume. Macaulay, in fact, will not entertain any question of religion in any matters of public and general application, with the single exception of an established church; and, as we have seen, he is not solicitous about the special nature of such church, so long as it is simply established by the will of the majority. Like Hume, in truth, there are two things, in a religious sense, which Macaulay cordially hates. Hume names the one 'superstition' and the other 'enthusiasm.' Of Macaulay's feelings towards the former we have already seen enough. His notions of the latter are implied in all that he says relative to bigots and fanatics. But nowhere are his thoughts seen clearer than in his account of George Fox, the Quaker, or in his description (Ranke's 'Popes') of a converted tinker, whom the Roman Church, unlike the Protestant, he says, would have turned to its own service. In these, his cold statement of religious experiences reads like an extract from some medical work pathologically relating the symptoms and progress of some bodily malady. Such things involve a process that seems alien to him; for the most part, he looks on with disgust and scorn, or, at best, with curiosity and compassion. No; all Macaulay's sympathies are with the temporal; and when the subject of religion occurs to be taken up, it is simply viewed as one of the other material interests. It is very characteristic of him to remark, that 'Catholicism is the most attractive of all superstitions,' and that 'the Jewish religion, of all erroneous religions, is the least mischievous.' In short, when he says of Danby, 'His attachment to Episcopacy and the Liturgy were rather political than religious,' the dictum, without straining and without uncharity, might easily receive a wider application.

Those of our readers who know anything of the French philosopher Comte, or of his English disciple, Buckle, will, we dare say, have already perceived that the opinions of these 'philosophers' are not only similar, but even constitute a natural termination to those of Macaulay. They, as is well known, would sneer into annihilation all metaphysics and all theology, and would wish to see thought restricted to the observation and registration of phenomena. Well, Macaulay too takes his stand by induction, which just means the observation and registration of phenomena: he too rejects metaphysics; and if he does not wholly reject theology, he restricts it to a province certainly of the narrowest. The very law of necessary connection (borrowed from Hume), by means of which the Comtists seek to transform the manifestations of our intellectual and moral faculties into mere links of the same great chain of cause and effect which physical things obey, seems not without a certain attraction for Macaulay also. Talking of our tendency to regard the Golden Age as left behind us in the past, he says: 'This is chiefly to be ascribed to a law as certain as the

the laws which regulate the succession of the seasons and the course of the trade winds: it is the nature of man to overrate present evil and to underrate present good—to long for what he has not and to be dissatisfied with what he has.'

We should be glad to join issue on several of these points, and to discuss them at length, but such is not our present object, and here we have no sufficient space. We content ourselves with saying, for the sake of our own position with the reader, that, while we do not look on the philosophy of the eighteenth century with unmixed satisfaction, we certainly regard that of Messrs. Comte and Buckle with unqualified reprobation and contempt. Further, we think that the functions of government are not of a negative nature only (exclusively restricted to the protection of person and property), but capable of an affirmative application also. Macaulay, indeed, is here in reality at variance with himself; for, in regard to a national church and a national school, he actually concedes to government a function evidently affirmative. We, for our part, see no reason—and we are sure that Lord Macaulay could not have assigned one—why the affirmative function should stop there, and are inclined to believe that, in this connection, there is a science (social science) opening, of which Lord Macaulay, in his own bitter words to Southey, 'had yet to learn the alphabet.' Again, we believe that physical truth would be an inexplicable and indeed meaningless fragment—so much mere purposeless *flotsam*—were it not there for, and did it not terminate in, metaphysical truth. Then religion is to us the tap-root of humanity, and all else is but *nauci*, *flocci*, *minimi*, *pili*. Neither can we allow that metaphysics, morals, and religion are, either severally or collectively, destitute of progress. Very far from that, we believe that the final cause of the world is neither more nor less *than* such progress, and that history has no theme whatever but, intellectually, morally, and religiously, the enlargement and enfranchisement of the consciousness of man. Progress, however, we do not view as, so to speak, fluent extension; we should name it rather a series of consecutive and accumulative progresses. The history of civilization is a history of civilizations—a history of higher following on lower dispensations; the tree of existence, the *Yggdrasil* of our Norse forefathers, decays as surely as it grows, but it grows as surely as it decays, and each new growth is larger, fuller, braver than the last. This tree has successively grown up and withered down, in India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Italy; it is now in full leaf in England, but a thousand years hence it may be budding and blossoming elsewhere.

We have now obtained for ourselves an insight, more or less clear, more or less complete, into the principles and aim with which Lord Macaulay entered on the arena of life; let us now see how

how he, so accoutred and impelled, bore himself, and what were the products of his so guided and directed industry.

When Macaulay left college for London in 1825, he carried with him a very complete knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, as well as a competent acquaintance with the leading literatures of modern Europe. He does not seem to have even attempted to realize to himself an intellectual conception of the Greeks or Romans as human beings, and in relation to universal history ; but the literary masterpieces of these peoples were fairly stored in his excellent memory, where his exceedingly sound and discriminating taste had well arranged, shelved, and lettered them. His knowledge of modern literature was also evidently extensive, and, on the whole, exact. The classic Italians, and the French writers of the age of Louis XIV., he had manifestly studied with great care, and discussed in his own mind with great discernment. We have also occasional notices from him of German and Spanish authors, and even a quotation or two in these languages ; but though he had indubitably attained to a very considerable and satisfactory conception of the main merits of these literatures, still it appears probable to us that Macaulay could not have justly claimed the title of either a German or a Spanish scholar. Macaulay, in fact, was a man of great practical perspicacity, and we do not believe that he would have willingly carried one ounce more weight than was necessary to his purpose. We find him, for example, contented to remain with but slender mathematical acquirements ; and nowhere is there the slightest evidence that he ever troubled his head about Egypt's place in universal history, the Hindoo Vedas, the origin of society in Central Asia, the migration of the tribes, or the philological relations of Turan and Iran. The preference of Italian and French to German and Spanish, then, is in complete harmony with our general Humian theory ; and we can easily believe that any study of these latter languages resulted fully as much from the set of the times as from expectation of help towards his peculiar object.

But, besides these literary and academic stores, even in 1825, Macaulay had already made great progress in the study of English history and politics, especially during those reigns that were characterized by the growth and evolution of what are named constitutional principles. Indeed, so engrossed is he in this study, that in his very first article of any note (Milton, Ed. Rev., 1825), he cannot resist the temptation to intercalate an historical summary. Analogous but more extended historical summaries followed in the Hallam, the Hampden, the Burleigh, and others. So very similar, indeed, are these summaries, and so frequently do they recur, that one gets to feel a little surprise at the favour that allowed even a Macaulay to insert and re-insert, and yet again insert,

insert, what was mainly nothing more than the rifaccimento of an old material.

The 'history' would lead us to suppose, as we have already shown, that a certain reaction really had taken place in Macaulay against the Calvinism of his friends. There is no evidence of this, however, in the early essays. It is possible, indeed, that the studies and experiences of the university may have taught him to regard the system of religious thought under his father's roof as biassed and narrow; but nowhere can we find any evidence of a youthful, a poetic, or aristocratic revolt against it. His clear, sound judgment sees well where he is placed, and what his friends are worth to him; he remains on the best terms with them, he supports their views, he makes speeches for them, but still he takes up his own position calmly in the centre, as that constitutional Whig which his historical studies recommend to him. The same clear, practical judgment that has decided his choice leads him again to perceive that it is wisest for him, once having chosen, to declare himself. Accordingly, he is quite open in his avowal that he 'would be first an Englishman and then a Whig,' and he takes his side in the most public and unhesitating fashion.

The young man, who has such friends and connections, who has distinguished himself so much at college, who has spoken so well at Abolition meetings, who has written such capital articles in the 'Edinburgh,' who is so manifestly a true Whig that he knows more about Whig history and can give better expression to Whig principles than the very best Whig among them, is not long left without public employment. He is made a Commissioner of Bankruptcy, and so early as 1830 a seat in Parliament is found for him. He enters Parliament at a most important crisis too. The great Reform Bill is in the agonies of gestation, and the Whigs are troubled with the most natural solicitudes. The young man of thirty is too sagacious not to discern all the possibilities of the position. He is possessed, withal, of such vigour of will as enables him to convert his perceptions into deeds. He throws himself, though new to the house, completely into the situation. He becomes one of the leading supporters of Government. Indeed, his services are soon such that, in less than four years, a most lucrative appointment is found for him—an appointment so lucrative that in three years he is able to return from India, where he held it, the recipient of an opulent and lordly income.

Macaulay is not yet thirty-eight, then, and we already see how well the aim he set himself has thriven with him. His practical experience of Parliament and of India is an incalculable gain to him in his vocation of historian. All this time, too, his studies on the one concentrated subject have never slackened. We can trace their progress in the series of essays already more than once referred

referred to. Indeed, these studies seem thoroughly ripe now, and even the execution of his design largely accomplished. What a happy prospect gilds all the west for him at the early age of thirty-eight!—he has wealth, he has position, he has honour, he has even in a goodly state of forwardness the one work which was to be ‘the business and the pleasure of his life.’ Nought remains for him but, in the midst of leisure, in the midst of all the *agrémens* of the most choice society in the world, a member of Parliament even, for he may make the duties light, that he finish his work, that he build the temple, and transform to enclosed chapels those gorgeous Clives and magnificent Hastingses. Accordingly such is the position that we see him assume for the remainder of his days. And in such position he is able to do such services to the Whigs, and gain such honour in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen, that in 1857 a patent of nobility is conferred on him. But, alas! the labours, that wore now the look of pastime and recreation rather than drudgery and penance, and to the termination of which he might, so far as his age was concerned, look not too presumptuously forward, were destined to be snapped asunder in the midst, and remain for ever a fragment merely. On the 28th day of December, 1859 (just fifty-nine years of age), Lord Macaulay died, and the continuation of Hume remains itself to be continued.

Some of his too ardent admirers have not scrupled to claim for Lord Macaulay the *first* place as orator, poet, essayist, and historian. This claim, so put, we think insupportable. These admirers themselves describe the speeches of Lord Macaulay as but spoken essays; and they give, besides, such an account of the deficiency of his voice and the stiffness of his action as demonstrates the nullity of their own claim, so far as the orator is concerned. For our part we find the speeches to read exceedingly well, and we cannot admit that they have only the character of spoken essays. On the contrary, we find in them not the mere fluent continuousness of writing, but the energetic interruptedness, and, as it were, the successive hammer-strokes of actual speech. On this head it will suffice to say, however, that they are well-worded pieces of excellent generalization and clear judgment. The Whigs, though probably sometimes quivering with misgivings that he was going too far, must, on the whole, have been much enlightened and very much gratified by those admirable expositions of their own principles.

In regard to the ‘Lays of Ancient Rome,’ the ‘Times’ writes thus:—‘As a poet, at a time when it was supposed that nothing new could be invented, he struck out a style, the enchantment of which is felt by all ages and all conditions alike, which has no prototype in ancient, no parallel in modern times; which unites the

the simplicity of our ancient ballads with the rich images and stirring dialogue of the epic, often sweetly descending to an idyllic character, reminding us of the happier passages of 'Theocritus.' The authority is unimpeachable and the testimony clear, nevertheless we cannot help thinking that both the 'Times' and Lord Macaulay have made a sad mistake here. It is our deliberate belief, in short, that the 'Lays of Ancient Rome' are not poetry, but, so far as we understand the word, doggrel. Macaulay, in talking of his Mulgraves, Rochesters, Montagues, Dorsets, &c., laments that their poetry should have been preserved to mislead us only in forming a judgment of their characters and talents otherwise. We think it very possible that some future historian may repeat Macaulay's remark and of Macaulay's own case. Again: it is of Addison's poetry that our essayist himself remarks: 'Ever since the time of Pope there has been a glut of lines of this sort, and we are now as little disposed to admire a man for being able to write them as for being able to write his name.' Even so; and *à fortiori* (since the Percy Ballads) in regard to the 'Lays of Ancient Rome.' O up

Got brave Dick Turpin,
And he swore by the mass
That he would ride to York city,
All on his steed Black Bess!

Positively such stuff as this may, in certain circumstances, be bearable. But, O the brave Me-zen-ti-us! and O the brave Ho-ra-ti-us! are worse than the bagpipes as described by Shakspeare. We hear at once the true Whitechapel *skirl*, and in such barbarous union with the sacred names of another world, and of other associations, that we involuntarily stop our ears, fain to exclude a positive pain. For it is to be recollect that the hearing of some ballads bawled in Whitechapel is said to have suggested these extraordinary hermaphrodites. This origin, whether feigned or true, is certainly most apposite.

The truth is, in an age that regarded poetry so high as ours does, the self-complacence of a successful author, who could do almost everything well, and who had written prize poems in his youth, could not resist a clutch at the bays of the *bard*; but he signally missed, and we only wish that he himself had had the opportunity, in the case of somebody else, to point the moral. For us, to be sure, there is some consolation in the inimitable sentence of the 'Times'; we should be sorry to forget that sweet descent to Theocritus and the idyllic. We must do ourselves the justice, however, to say one word on 'Ivry.' This is a piece of true merit, full of spirit and energy. Had Macaulay preserved no other poem but this, though it could never have sufficed to entitle him to the name of poet, it would have been there, a proof of versatility,

satility, and it would always have been taken into account in every estimate of the essayist and historian.

These words bring us to the true functions of Macaulay, and to the true scenes of his triumphs.

The essays, as we have seen, are often written, so to speak, in aid of the history, and assume, for the most part, the character of preliminary draughts, or of collateral complements. Some among them display, as reviews, a rare excellence of a technical kind. An admirable sample of such excellence is the 'Southey' (1830); indeed, a more perfect *business* article we do not recollect ever to have read. Reviewing, in Macaulay's own words, is certainly 'to a critic an easy and habitual act' in this case. The 'Robert Montgomery' is, to be sure, quite as business-like; but the game there comes too thick on us; it is a battue we assist at; sport becomes slaughter, and we cease to have interest in it. But in the 'Southey,' the *coups d'adresse* and the *tours de force* are captivating beyond comparison. How the poor laureate must have writhed under the dexterous touches of this finest and supplest of whips! Macaulay has here a subject entirely within his range; his style is now full-fledged too, and his manner perfect. There is, perhaps, a little fine malice towards the Tory poet lurking in the heart of the Whig reviewer; at all events he feels that the Tory poetry of politics, as expounded by Southey, is powerless against his own Whig prose, and he marches to battle with the gayest confidence. Not one word is ever wasted, not a single sentence falls in vain. Points and edges glitter everywhere; incisions gape to every stroke, and punctures follow to every thrust. Verily this is elastic writing, vigorous, rapid, true. What irony, what sarcasm, what fine derision perfectly cut into words! 'Mr. Southey,' he says, 'brings to the task two faculties which were never, we believe, vouchsafed in measure so copious to any human being—the faculty of believing without a reason, and the faculty of hating without a provocation.' Then, withal, he is so true and discriminating, truer, perhaps, and more discriminating in his praise than in his blame: when he applauds, he approves himself such a critic as even Southey himself must accept with entire satisfaction. How finely he says: 'Government is to Mr. Southey one of the fine arts: he judges of a theory, of a public measure, of a religion or a political party, of a peace or a war, as men judge of a picture or a statue, by the effect produced on his imagination: a chain of association is to him what a chain of reasoning is to other men, and what he calls his opinions are, in fact, merely his tastes.' Expression here is surely in perfect adequacy with the thought; and all these exquisite little turns are weighty as bullets and precious as gold.

Speaking of Mr. Southey's poems he says: 'The short pieces are worse than Pye's and as bad as Cibber's.' The longer pieces, he continues

continues, 'though full of faults are nevertheless very extraordinary productions.' He doubts 'greatly whether they will be read fifty years hence ;' but has no doubt that, if read, 'they will be admired.' How admirably true, telling, and trenchant every one who knows anything of the subject must feel this criticism ! In this most felicitous paper panegyric itself has the effect of the most cutting satire, as where the reviewer says of the 'Life of Nelson :' 'It would not in all literary history be easy to find a more exact hit between wind and water.' Then how relentlessly the Whig constitutionalist insists on holding up to the theoretic dreams of the Tory poet his bundles of statistical tables and his rolls of mortality bills ! Southey has not the ghost of a chance with him ; the facts are so strong that they need advance only in the lightest badinage, the easiest persiflage. Mr. Southey, the reviewer says, resembles Milton's Satan, who contrived to travel round the world 'always in the dark' : and he adds—and in the addition we see the rapier *home*—'it is not everybody who could have so dexterously avoided blundering on the daylight in the course of a journey to the antipodes.' The whole essay abounds in the most exquisite expressions, the most vivid and effective figures. There is wit, allusion, illustration ; no element fails. All the arts of this species of composition are present in profusion, and Macaulay approves himself a finished craftsman.

Macaulay's longest essay, and perhaps the most elaborate, is the 'Bacon.' The power of writing has now come to full maturity with him ; nay, we are not sure but that the fulness is excessive and runs over ; we are not sure but that the art has run away with the artist. Has anybody not on business ever read this essay without more than one of those intercalatory relaxations familiarly known as *skips* ? The facts in Bacon's life are few, and Macaulay tells us nothing new in regard to them. Still the river of words flows on copiously, endlessly. *This* is discussed and *that* is discussed, and not a stitch is dropped, and the whole subject must be *exhaustively* treated. And sure enough it is exhaustively treated ; the teeth of wolf never stripped a bone more exhaustively clean. Let the reader in search of proof turn only to the discussion of the question of philosophy that terminates the essay, and which really a page or two might have contained, and he will find it takes up about twice the space of the article he is now reading. This excessive copiousness is decidedly a blot, then. Still, the living, leafy, wide-stretching boughs into which the writer's art transforms the mere dead and fragmentary fallen twigs of truth are wonderful, and we are kept in continual admiration of the constant unexceptionable writing, the constant interesting pictures, the constant luminous good sense, and the constant appearance of research.

The 'Samuel Johnson' (1831) is one of Macaulay's most celebrated and characteristic essays: and certainly perhaps there is no more vivid, no more graphic, no more racy piece of writing in the language. The style is terse, clear, keen, while there are a fulness and a rapid continuousness of utterance that hurry us triumphantly along with the stream of expression. Still we cannot help seeing that it is a tale dressed up, that effect is aimed at, and that effect alone is aimed at. The truth of the matter is evidently not by any means of vital importance to the writer; not that he despises, or at all wishes to neglect truth, but just because his object has no present relation with truth. In fact, the aim here is not instruction at all; there is no thought of a lesson; the wish is amusement, entertainment, interest only. The desire, too, is accomplished, for the essay is as successful as any series of dissolving views. It is bright, glittering, brilliant, but—we must say it—it is shallow. It deals with the outside only—with the hull, the husk, the poor scrofula-scared body, and not with the soul of Johnson. How different the Johnson of Carlyle! There it is not the squalid, unsweet giant in dirty linen, gobbling and slobbering, with straining eyeballs, over his victuals, that we see. No; there it is the humble pious heart, the strong sense, the understanding solid, weighty as granite; or again, it is the great doubt-riven soul that would have peace in God and a world of far other interests than the pettinesses of time.

Macaulay, in fact, has no business with such a soul as this of Johnson. Instead of seeing it, understanding it, loving it, he maunders about Johnson's credulity in matters spiritual, and his incredulity in matters temporal, and enjoys his own enlightened subversion over 'superstition.' We have here, indeed, an excellent specimen of what is one of Macaulay's main recommendations to the general reader—a delight in gathering and a power of painting personal peculiarities. Macaulay is never more at home than in such scandal: the eating, drinking, and clothing of men, their mistresses, their warts, their bandy legs, or their red noses—Macaulay has, in such curiosities, absolutely the furore of a collector. Now such things were so abundant in poor Johnson that Macaulay saw nothing else. As Johnson was a Tory indeed, Macaulay did not care to see anything else. For that Macaulay yielded to the bias of party is as certain as that Johnson himself so yielded. He (Macaulay) talks of the Tories at times as if they were wolves. 'The howl,' he says, 'which the whole pack set up for prey and for blood appalled even him who had aroused and unchained them.' It is this same party influence that leads him to write with such partiality of Addison and such hatred of Pope. He labours under a jaundice of this sort so deep, indeed, that even the poor dwarfed, deformed, diseased body of Pope seems to excite feelings of detestation in him; and he speaks of it as

legitimate game for Addison, had Addison chosen to revenge himself for the lines on Atticus. Macaulay is, if possible, more unjust to Johnson than to Pope, however: he sneers at his works, talks of them passing into oblivion, and seems quite to ignore all the great qualities of that true Englishman. If he could see nothing in Johnson's criticisms, or in his biographies—if the melancholy wisdom of a lifetime, which is the burthen of 'Rasselas,' had no worth for him—if he had no gratitude for the Dictionary even, surely he might have recollected that this was the man that wrote the letter to Chesterfield, a piece of manliness and of unsurpassed felicity of expression that will be alive, we doubt not, when even Clive and Warren Hastings have ceased to interest.

We would not have the reader suppose, however, that we undervalue the two celebrated essays just mentioned. The history has absorbed and superseded some of the very best of the others; but these still remain in their own entire and undiminished proportions, the most prominent, the most attractive, and, probably without exception, the most universally read of all Macaulay's writings.

Beyond all doubt there are no themes in the history of the world better adapted for the peculiar pen of Macaulay than the characters and deeds of these, the two most famous, or infamous, of all our Indian proconsuls. It is to the imagination that Macaulay prefers to address himself; and here certainly, if anywhere, there were materials enough to aid him in such a purpose. In the background we have the vague splendour of the East; the snows of mightier hills ascend; the beams of a mightier sun pour forth; strange cupolas loom through the haze of heat, and minarets of other creeds glance; palaces of marble rise with chambers where the air is heavy with the pomp of hangings, and opulent with the lustre of jewellery and gold. In the foreground, heroes, single-handed, scatter armies, or burst into the secret treasure-houses of Arabian story. Nor is the thrill wanting that these are Englishmen, and that the name of England has been made a name of terror and fascination by them in every town and hamlet of these enchanted regions.

In these gorgeous essays, the style corresponds admirably with the material on which it is employed, and with the startling events which it relates. It is dyed in a thousand colours; it glitters with a thousand points; and the swiftness of its speed is as the rush of the eager victor through the broken wreck of the terrified foe that flees. Still this is the highest praise that can be awarded these essays: it is not for any quality of thought that they are valuable: they are scenic merely. Indeed, we fear the lesson they teach is of no good tendency: the imagination is kindled up into admiration of material riches and material power, while actions black with perfidy or red with blood are allowed, in all this earthly and earthy splendour, almost to hide themselves.

We

We fear that such men as Clive and Hastings have been too often taken as exemplars by our countrymen in the East ; that hatred to our name, the deeper for suppression, results ; and that for all this the essayist, who preferred an audience of the imagination to one of reason, is very seriously to blame.

But *the book of Macaulay* is undoubtedly his history. Its foundations had been laid as far back as the very first stirrings of literary ambition—a lifetime of study, a lifetime of experience had collected the materials, and a lifetime of labour had been employed on the work. It is a national loss that it remains unfinished, for never perhaps were theme and historian so well adapted to each other ; and never perhaps had historian manifested a similar amount, as well of concentration of design as of continuousness of preparation. The theme was the constitutional history of England ; and Hallam himself had no superiority over Macaulay in clear recognition of the true constitutional principles. There was here a certain groundwork of reason and philosophy, then, to impart unity and coherency to the whole ; and to this groundwork of philosophy the workman was thoroughly equal. But, in addition, there were a hundred elements, for the elaboration of which it was precisely this workman that possessed the necessary skill. There were marches, and progresses, and processions, and the fierce tides of battle. There were parliaments and the fights of parties, the reasons *pro* and the reasons *con*, and the triumphant tellings of the ayes and noes. Manners there were to paint and characters to draw, containing both of them an inexhaustible store of those salient peculiarities that constitute the quaint, the odd, the curious, the original. In short, here was a theme that required precisely such an historian ; and here was an historian that required precisely such a theme. We really believe that there does not exist in any language reading more captivating than this history. The interest of Carlyle's 'French Revolution' is certainly at times infinitely more intense, but one cannot get rid of a feeling of a certain interruptedness, a certain inequality in that work, while the march of Macaulay is never either accelerated or retarded.

We should name the style in Macaulay's earlier writings, a transparent but flushed rapidity. But as regards the style of the history, while the transparency has been allowed to remain, and in greater perfection than before, the rapidity has been mitigated and the flush removed. What was transparent but flushed rapidity is now transparent complacent fluency. The river has reached the plain, and gently subsides into a wide smilingness of flow, as if grateful for the broad ease it feels.

If such was the style, the mental attributes of Macaulay, now mellow in maturity, were equally well adapted to the task. There was a judgment tamed into the measure of success by its very

circumscription, its very ascription to the general philosophy of the eighteenth century—a judgment which, within this range, was luminously clear and sharply precise. There was a memory eminently retentive, ready, and suggestive, stored, too, with material, teeming with illustration, prompt with allusion. There was a fancy exceedingly vivid, quick, and fertile. It was a source of facility and success, too, that so much had been already done, that it was a more than thrice-told tale that was in question, that nothing goaded to overspeed, that all conduced to the adoption of the calm, the leisurely, the placid. Accordingly a result so splendid has been produced that its incompletion will remain the lament of our latest literature. ‘In lenocinio commendationis dolor est manus, cum id ageret, extinctæ.’

It is not to be supposed, however, that Macaulay has no faults ; such a consummation is not for humanity. Faults he has, and great ones, up from mere qualities of style to attributes of intellect. In style, for example, despite his many true merits, Macaulay cannot be regarded as the very highest master. A nature so remarkably facile, adroit, and quick as his found no difficulty in appropriating the lesson, taught by so many contemporaries, of a more living picturesqueness and of a more natural reality in writing. That this is an age of photography holds as true of the domain of the pen as of that of the pencil ; and Macaulay yielded, like others, to the fascination of the new trick. His deepest sympathies, nevertheless, are with the writers of the eighteenth century, and theirs was the style which his judgment, at bottom, really approved. That style he might quicken with measures, or freshen with colours, borrowed from the new ; but it was that style that, in the main, should still be his. Accordingly he abounds in the stock metaphor, the stock transition, the stock equipoise, the stock rhetoric, the stock expedients generally of Addison, Robertson, Goldsmith, Smollett, but especially David Hume. Phrases analogous to ‘sinks into insignificance’ are common with him ; he constantly tells us, of men of ‘parts,’ that so and so had ‘parts ;’ and he speaks of ‘the nerves of the mind.’ We can have, by oversight, even such a sentence as this from him : ‘Though his wasted and suffering body could hardly move without support—he *flew* to London.’ On the whole, the style of Macaulay is one rather of culture than creation. Rarely do we find in it any of those peculiarly delicate, almost evanescent turns by which the new thought of an original writer announces itself.

Another fault of Macaulay, begun probably under the influence of Hume, and increased by parliamentary experience, is the tediousness with which he expatiates on the *pros* and *cons* of party. He is never better pleased than when he gets the two parties on ‘the floor of the House,’ and has an opportunity of conjecturally cataloguing all the motives and opinions, probable or possible, on the

the one side and the other. This is a trick of Hume's, too, but Macaulay feels absolutely in his element here, and cannot persuade himself to quit but with the flush of triumph over the majority of the ayes and the minority of the noes.

Macaulay seems, and is generally reckoned, a great master of portrait-painting. So far as striking epithets and sharp, well-defined predication are concerned, Macaulay certainly deserves the praise. The words applied do indeed seem so trenchant, that the man, we are tempted to believe, must be cut out by them ; and very often the *person*, at all events, is cut out by them. Johnson, Horace Walpole, James I., James II., William III., and some others, are certainly actually *seen* by the reader. William III., indeed, is not only seen, but even, perhaps, understood. But this is not the case with the characters generally. Those Sunderlands, Arlingtons, Cliffords, Ashleys, Montagues, Russells, Hamiltons, &c., &c., have all of them been successively and individually introduced to us, and with the most brilliantly specific language ; still we find that they all retreat, as we leave them, into a vague distance, where they become more and more shadowy, and finally disappear. We have not, after all, seen what manner of men they were ; these sharp and telling predicates gave us them in pieces only, and it is in vain we seek to find them coherent in a whole. How different Carlyle ! One word, and we have Robespierre, or Mirabeau, or Danton, or Calonne, or Vergniaud, and we never lose them. They are men and realities to us for ever, and not mere bundles of qualities artfully stuffed out by brilliant predication. This is the difference of art. Carlyle seeks to seize his man in the very centre of his nature, in that one quality that harmonizes all the varieties and diversities of his actions. Macaulay, by collecting all these varieties and diversities *ab extra* seeks to put together a figure which, unprovided with this central and uniting knot, falls all abroad in pieces again. The stupid phrase, 'such is the inconsistency of human nature,' which occurs so frequently in Macaulay, is, in reality, only a consolation addressed to himself on a dimly-felt failure in construing of the kind alluded to. 'The character of Harley,' says Macaulay, 'is to be collected from innumerable panegyrics and lampoons ; from the works and the private correspondence of Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, Prior, and Bolingbroke, and from multitudes of such works as "Ox and Bull," "The High German Doctor," and the "History of Robert Powell, the Puppet Showman."' This we believe to be evidence crucially decisive of the truth of our judgment here. It is perfectly plain from these words, that Macaulay sought to construct Harley out of a thousand piecemeal materials gathered from without. In this way, indeed, a figure (but in perpetual danger of instant dissolution) may be pieced together, but never an actual human character

character realized to thought. Such human character, instantly found in what it says itself, is seldom or never found in what is said of it. And this is the secret of Carlyle's art: he searches for the one look, the one gesture, the one act, the one word that gives ingress to the inner whole, and never troubles himself to gather from without the scattered beams of manifestation, knowing well that no sheaf, however large, collected in that way, will ever enable him to restore the original luminary.

But if it be thus with the characters of Macaulay, an analogous inexactitude frequently accompanies his statements of fact. And here it is the celebrated descriptive chapter which will best illustrate our views. The subject of that chapter is eminently suited to Macaulay, both as regards his outward execution and his inward habit of thought. As regards the former, he had to describe contrasts (in reference to our own times) adapted to interest and pleasingly surprise the very shallowest faculties, while, as regards the latter, the burthen of the story was progress, moral and intellectual progress. But what a remarkable easiness and indifference of temper he manifests in the collecting and selecting of his materials! The most of them are collected from writers fifty or sixty years later than the period described; and the most of these writers are *novelists*. His one great authority for a very large portion of the contents of that chapter is unquestionably 'Roderick Random.' The incidents of travelling, the state of the roads, the highwaymen, the tricks of London, the squire, the curate, are all to be found there. And certainly it is quite true that in the novels of Smollett and Fielding there is, as Thackeray observes, a very great amount of historical truth 'in solution.' Still, Macaulay has taken this observation a great deal too much *au pied de la lettre*, and it is simply ridiculous to put up Orson Topehall, a prey to all the rascality of London, as the normal English squire of the day. Still more ridiculous is it to represent the curate Shuffle, whom Roderick Random finds drinking, smoking, and fiddling in the alehouse, as the true type of the priest of that time. Would we be historically accurate, should we assume Sir Pitt Crawley to represent the baronetage, and Lord Verisopht the peerage of our own days? Out of the smells of the Thames and the Serpentine, out of the painted harlots who, morning and evening, infest Regent Street, and out of the skittle-sharpers, and hundreds the like, of whom we hear daily in the newspapers, would it not be easy to furbish up a picture of these days as piquant and racy, but at the same time quite as fallacious as Macaulay's representation of the times of our ancestors?

The reader, we dare say, recollects the description of the English traveller in the Highlands rising in the morning from the bare

bare earth, blind with smoke, mad with itch, &c. : Macaulay tells us himself the source from which he derives all these and other extraordinary particulars. In a note he says : ' Almost all these circumstances are taken from Burt's letters ; for the tar I am indebted to Cleland's poetry.' His manner of working is here evident, then : the statements of a single writer are conclusive to him.

In conclusion, we may say of Macaulay that be his shortcomings what they may, he has completely realized his own ideal. He says himself : ' The diligence, the accuracy, and the judgment of Hallam, united to the vivacity and the colouring of Southey—a history of England written throughout in this manner would be the most fascinating book in the language : it would be more in request at the circulating libraries than the last novel.' This was written in 1835, and accurately foretold the fortune of his own history twenty years later. Yes ; Macaulay eminently possessed—and again we use his own words—' the art of writing what people will like to read : ' he rejects all but the attractive parts of his subject ; he keeps only what is in itself amusing, or what can be made so by the artifice of his diction.' He cannot originate, he cannot create, but he disposes admirably, and has a marvellous power of what the French call the *mise en scène*. In subtlety, depth, fertility, in spontaneity of thought, he is infinitely behind his own great prototype Hume. To the solidity, the comprehensiveness, the completeness, the immensity of range of Gibbon, he can have no pretension. To the earnestness, the intensity, the *vision* of Carlyle, he is equally a stranger. With men like these he is simply incommensurable. His place is not among the kings ; he holds no throne ; he sits not by the sides of Thucydides and Tacitus. In the annals of the world we know but one mate for him—a mate that he would disdain, perhaps, but a mate that if here inferior is there superior—this mate is Sallust.

ART. III.—1. *Works of Dr. F. R. Lees.* 4 Volumes. London : Horsell and Co. 1853-1857.

2. *The Politics of Temperance.* Alliance Depôt, 335 Strand. 1860.

SYSTEMATIC inquiries into the extent, causes, and results of intemperance, prosecuted during a period of half a century, and certain tentative experiments for the repression of this serious evil, have apparently brought the bulk of temperance reformers to a number of definite conclusions. It is these, with some of the facts and reasons from whence they are deduced, which we desire to lay very briefly before our readers for their consideration, not merely to excite to thought and elicit opinion, but, so far as is possible

sible, to evoke sympathy towards practical measures for the material diminution of an evil which is a reproach to the intelligence and civilization of which Englishmen are so apt to boast.

To dwell on the frightful extent of drunkenness, public and private, would be worse than to repeat 'a thrice-told tale.' It is universally conceded that we are, in this respect, in a very unsatisfactory condition. In Liverpool, for example, the Police Report records, under the head of 'Drunk and Disorderly,' that 7,000 males and nearly 5,000 females are annually taken up in the streets! The daily and weekly papers teem with the most shocking illustrations of this vice and its effects, iterated to the point of disgust. 'Every day proves,' says a recent number of 'The Press,' 'that drunkenness is the monster evil of the age in England. Its effects make themselves felt in all departments of social life. The colonel of a crack regiment wages ineffectual war against the drunkenness which so often deprives him of the services of his best men. The master of the household strives in vain against the potations of the servants' hall, or the still more dangerous attractions of the neighbouring "public," which have proved the ruin of so many a good servant. Men who appear a concentrated epitome of all other virtues, who for honesty, steadiness, and willingness to oblige are alike irreproachable, cannot bear the application of the test of sobriety.'

The causes of this wide-spread and deeply-seated national vice are what should first be ascertained by a true social science, since the knowledge of the cause is the only correct indicator of the effectual remedy.

Physiology has distinctly proclaimed the nature of that habitual craving for strong liquors which, being gratified, ends in drunkenness. It is an abnormal state of the nerves and brain, engendered by the persistent use of the stimulant of alcohol, under the operation of a law which finds its analogue in the instances of opium, hashish, tobacco, and other narcotics. All such drugs, without exception, it is alleged, operate through the subtle machinery of the nervous structure, and tend by necessary law to the creation of an appetite which 'grows by what it feeds on.'* While the

* Huc, the intelligent traveller in China, declares that, save with some exceptional organizations, opium smoking in moderation leads with fearful certainty and speed to excess; and excess to crime and a frightful mortality.

Mr. De Quincey, nearly forty years ago (1821), in his celebrated 'Confessions of an Opium Eater,' noticed the gradual increase in the consumption of that perilous narcotic, and traces it to a law which we have seen since illustrated in the augmented frequency of tobacco-smoking in England, with its 8,000,000. of profligate waste. 'I do not believe that any man, having once tasted the divine luxuries of opium, will afterwards descend to the gross and mortal enjoyment of alcohol. I take it for granted,

'That those eat now who never ate before;
And those who always ate, now eat the more.'

original quantity, by repetition, loses its power to reproduce its first pleasing effect, it is found to leave a craving void behind. Thus the sensual nature demands an increase of the stimulant, both in time and measure, and at the same time the moral-resisting power is either partially weakened or absolutely annulled. Such is the theory of the history and genesis of all the actual excess which temperance reformers deprecate and deplore. The love of pleasure on the one hand, ever mounting to a transient crisis, and on the other, an aversion to pain, are the twin forces whereby the fetters of an insatiable lust are imperceptibly but surely riveted upon the intemperate man.* In this state of vassalage, and in the midst of his misery, the drinker exclaims, 'I will seek it yet again!'

Universal history, it is affirmed, attests and verifies this dictum of physiological science. It records no single example, amidst the multifarious conditions of social life, where these seductive intoxicants, once introduced, have not been widely abused; or where their use has remained stationary at some fixed point of desiderated 'moderation.' The old Egyptian, the pagan Arab, the favoured Jew, the refined and cultured Greek, the strong Roman, the wild Scythian, and the ancient German, all in turn passed through the experience which has been repeated amongst the civilized Celts and the Christianized Anglo-Saxons of modern times. No matter what other social conditions prevail, of poverty or plenty, of knowledge or ignorance, of barbarism or refinement, of religion or irreligion, the use of intoxicants always spreads and increases. The passion for narcotics, once engendered, never dies out, never ceases; nay, it is for ever enlarging itself with the supply. Not only has the extent of surface over which the use reigned become greater by time, but wherever special efforts, including abstinence and prohibition, have been neglected for the repression of the evil, the vice has grown more intense in its power, and has most surely augmented in the number of its votaries and victims. Where special abstinence is inculcated, as amongst the ancient Jews, the later Mohammedans, and the modern Teetotalers, we have an

* Mr. De Quincey long since pointed out the fact, that, in this respect, wine was more of a deceiver even than opium. Mr. Thackeray, too, in his 'Virginians,' has declared the truth 'in the face of all the pumps,' and he is an excellent authority on such a point.

'There is a moment in a bout of good wine, at which, if a man could but remain, wit, wisdom, courage, generosity, eloquence, happiness, were his; but the moment passes, and that other glass somehow spoils the state of beatitude.'

Mr. De Quincey has a similar observation:—'The pleasure given by wine is always rapidly mounting, and tending to a crisis, after which it as rapidly declines. . . . There is a crowning point in the movement upwards, which, once attained, cannot be renewed; and it is the blind, unconscious, but always unsuccessful effort of the obstinate drinker to restore this supreme altitude of enjoyment which tempts him into excesses that become dangerous.'

example of an 'empire within an empire,' governed by special laws. This is a case where individuals have, so to speak, withdrawn themselves from the operation of the law in question. Hence, in estimating the prevalence of intemperance amongst a general population, we should first of all exclude the members of temperance societies, as not fairly coming within the circle of the influence which we are investigating. Weak beverages and mild narcotics, amongst those who use them, become stepping-stones to stronger and more potent agents of inebriation. Tobacco prepares for opium, beer for gin, and light wines for French brandy. Thus has human nature, in its infatuated search after false and forbidden pleasure, passed through the discordant gamut of a bad and bitter experience, until in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, to adopt the language of the great historian Michelet, we have reached 'an age in which the progressive invasion of spirits and narcotics is an invincible fact, bringing with it results varying according to the populations; here obscuring the mind and barbarising beyond recovery; there fatally penetrating the foundations of the physical life, and attainting the race itself.' Dr. Morel, in his great work 'On the Causes of Physical Degeneracy,' founded on an extensive survey of the social condition of the people of Germany and France, places the universal use of alcoholics and narcotics amongst the chief causes of that decay in the physical existence of the people, which is unerringly indicated by their diminution of stature and weight, by the abridged duration of adult life, and, above all, by an increased proclivity to mental disorder.

Having, from the nature and quality of the drink proximately explained the phenomena of drunkenness, as a subjective state, the temperance philosopher goes back a step to account for the drinking itself. Ignoring the few reckless debauchees who resort of set purpose to the use of alcoholics as a means of exciting sensuous pleasure, and who must be placed on the same moral level with the Hindoo or Chinese smoker of opium, he asks why people in general first begin the use of strong liquor? Two chief grounds may be indicated.

First, men drink because they have faith in the traditional virtues of the beverage consumed, be it home-brewed, pale ale, or crusted port. Opinion always governs practice to a certain extent, but especially in pleasant things. Appetite is credulous of all assertions which jump with it—'The wish is *patron* to the thought.' While the popular opinion of the excellency of alcoholics prevails, men at large may be expected to continue drinking, whence will follow the old sad sequences as before. This belief, therefore, must be weakened or dissipated by the diffusion of sound physiological knowledge, which is the business of the educator and the temperance

temperance reformer. The experience of teetotalers everywhere shows that, as compared with drinkers, they possess a singular immunity from sickness. Extensive statistics (given in the volumes named at the head of this article) demonstrate the fact, that a body of abstainers will, placed under even less favourable circumstances than careful drinkers, only be subject to one-half the disease, and for less than half the time; whilst the highest teachers of physiological science, as Lehmann, Moleschott, Liebig, and Carpenter, coincide in casting alcoholics from their usurped place in the rank of food, and in remitting them, for exceptional use, to the category of medical stimulants.

That 'alcohol is a very dangerous and tricksy spirit,' needing the (supernatural) power of a Prospero to make it obedient,* is the admission of its ablest and subtlest champion. The introduction and common use of such an article within our family circle can hardly be recommended on any sound principle of ethical philosophy. It is, in fact, a brain-poison.

A second cause of drinking, which is perhaps still more potent with the multitude, is custom. It is in vain that men inculcate moral theories, so long as the practical atmosphere of social life antagonizes them. Ideas are powerless against institutions, interests, and temptations. People may proclaim the uselessness or the harmfulness of liquor, the danger of drinking, the evil example set to the young, the unwary, or the weak, and eulogize the excellence of abstinence—no matter, if Fashion, the true 'queen of the world,' decrees to drink, and Interest, its strongest king, commands to create and tempt, men will continue to do so. It may be a practice 'more honoured in the breach than the observance,' but what is that to

'Monster custom, that all sense
Doth eat, of habits—Devil?'

All that we teach, dietetically or ethically, will come to naught, unless our social institutions, our daily customs and environments, are in harmony with it. As Lord Bacon declares, 'The bravery of words must be corroborate by custom.' This is the philosophy of temperance pledges and organizations, which furnish needful aids to the isolated virtue of individual example, giving a collective sanction to a novel or neglected protest, which shall neutralize the ignorant despotism of custom, since that which is impossible to be done alone is very easily achieved in association. As it is not to be expected that a people will rise above their 'circumstances' by any sudden impulse, it therefore becomes the duty and business of the social philosopher, with whom the idea is an actual potency, to inaugurate new conditions of a more harmonious and genial kind,

* G. H. Lewes in 'Westminster Review,' and 'Physiology of Common Life.'
out

out of which the germ of an improved social life may spring up into fruitful development.

This is emphatically true of a third cause of drinking, the social temptations presented by the gin-palace, the beer-shop, and the tavern. The author does not select any section of the traffic for special reprobation, and assuredly we do not believe that the 40,000 beer-shops inflict more injury than the 60,000 public-houses. It is quite desirable, indeed, that the laws on this subject should be assimilated and codified into one system, and referred to one executive authority; but it is contrary to history and experience to suppose that an authority which has never yet controlled the old public-houses effectually, will be able to repress the abuses of a system which will be extended by the assignment of so many beer-shops to their jurisdiction. It is also a delusion to suppose that more crime springs from the beer-shop—the public-house of the poor man—than from the tavern. Taking an average of many towns, it will be found that 10 per cent. of robberies from the person take place in the magisterially-licensed house, against less than 3 per cent. in the excise-licensed beer-shop. At the origin of beer-shops, absurd and exaggerated expectations were formed of their benefits (in utter ignorance of the physical law which determines that drunkenness increases in exact ratio with the consumption of strong drink); we ought not now to fall into the opposite blunder of painting these shops in darker colours than the truth warrants, and thus indirectly turn away the attention of the public mind from the cognate and more chronic evils of public-houses. It will be a great gain to destroy the beer-shops, but the suppression of the dram-shops and taverns would be a greater. The whole system must, socially and logically, stand or fall together. The traffic is sustained morally, and protected legally, by the authority of the law. As a political institution, raised into power and privilege by Parliament, it can only be suppressed, directly or indirectly, by the same power, whether by positive decree or delegated permission matters not. This is a question which it behoves every citizen to consider, and to decide according to the evidence. What, then, are the results of this system? Drunkenness and disorder, beggary, madness, suicide, and murder. Crime is so completely traceable to the perversion of drinking, and the temptations and accessories of the public-house and beer-shop, that the presiding judge at the Worcester summer assizes for 1859, declared, from a survey of the calendar, that had there been no drinking-houses, there would apparently have been no crime in that county. Since drunkenness, disease, depravity, and crime—evils, the reduction of which to a minimum is amongst the first and last objects of the social union—are the continual fruitage of the three classes of drinking-houses, it would seem but a principle of common

common justice, that the authority of deciding for or against their existence in any neighbourhood, should be remitted to the judgment of the inhabitants for the supply of whose wants, as it is alleged, these houses are allowed to carry on their business. Who more likely to judge aright, than those who constantly live around such houses, and who are to be affected, in person, property, and purse, by the 'curse' or the 'convenience' of this peculiar trade?

Statistics bring out the old truth that drinking is the exciting cause of at least three-fourths of serious crime; they also furnish a conjoint measure of the drunkenness and crime, by revealing 'the cause of the cause.' In fine, the measure of the public traffic is the general measure of the drunkenness and the disorder. Public-houses are the great factor in the causation of crime, at once neutralizing good agencies, and adding virulence to evil ones. As the traffic expands or collapses, other things remaining the same, so do drunkenness and violence. The public-house is the tangible cause, the *fons et origo* of our social mischief. Appealing to a preformed desire for intoxicants, it spreads the temptation and the snare; it suggests by signs and associations the forbidden and dangerous pleasure; it supplies the facilities; it hides the beginning, and profits by the excess of the evil, and, to crown and complete the whole, it carries on the process of seduction and ruin under the sanction and blazonry of law. Can we wonder, when such practical colleges of crime and nurseries of sensualism are thickly planted in the midst of the homes and workshops of the labouring classes, that mechanics' institutes languish in debt and difficulty; or that temperance societies themselves are but a series of spasmodic efforts, composed of alternate successes and relapses? It is the rankness of public-houses in the centres of industry, not the denseness of population—for that is a mere abstraction—which accounts for the prevalence of crime. So it is the number of temptations in any district, and not the fact of education or ignorance, that measures the drunkenness and violence. Comte d'Angeville has shown that six of the best-educated provinces of France are amongst the most criminal, while seven of the worst educated are the least criminal.* The solution is easy, for in the six we find the most, and in the seven the fewest, drinking facilities. Ireland supplies a similar illustration. Ignorant, dirty, and neglected Connaught is far less criminal than educated Leinster and Munster. Why? Because there are forty-two drinking-houses fewer to every 100,000 of the population than in any other province, and the per-cent of drunkenness is less than one-half the average. As observed by Mr. Moncrieff Wilson, 'the sale of intoxicating

* Vide 'Meliora,' vol. ii., p. 176. Art. Educational Fallacy.

liquor has perhaps as powerful an effect upon crime in increasing it, as education and occupation combined have in lessening it.' In Sweden and many parts of Scotland, again, we find an excess of religious and secular instruction coexisting with great drunkenness, much crime, and an amount of illegitimacy which equals the worst cities of Europe. In other words, drinking facilities counteract the tendencies of instruction, both secular and religious.

In Baden, Würtemburg, and other states of educated Germany, as attested by the inquiries of Mr. Recorder Hill, criminals are brought to prison, not by the negation ignorance, but because they have become, there as here, the victims of beer and wine drinking. M. Quetelet, referring to the fact that 'of 2,297 murders committed in France during four years, 446 were in consequence of quarrels and contentions in taverns,' observes that 'Man is not driven to crime because he is poor, but more generally because of an inadequacy to supply the artificial wants he has created.'

The statistics of English counties enforce the same conclusions. The unvarying correspondent of the crime is the public-house. If public-houses are beneath or above the average, so is crime. Crime, in short, dogs the steps of the traffic. Take six counties having fewest, and six having most, drinking-shops, the following result appears:—

With 1 public-house to 235 persons, we have 1 criminal to 762.				
" 1 "	109	"	"	591.

Cornwall and Monmouth have nearly the same average of worship, yet Cornwall is the least, and Monmouth the most, criminal of our counties.* In the first we have 1 drink-shop to 304 persons; in the second, 1 to every 118.

Save one, all remedies for intemperance in modern times, either from inadequacy or defect, have failed satisfactorily to abate the evil. Improved sanatory conditions and social privileges have not prevented its ravages. Full employment and high wages have been perverted to profligate uses. Liberty has run into intemperate license, and shamed our political suffrages. Recreations, at home and abroad, unless dissociated from drink, have degenerated into riot. National education and normal schools, pale cider and light wines, have coexisted with a continued increase of drunkenness both in America and in Germany. The approach to free trade in cheap beer, and the Beer Bill at home, have failed worst of all; and the proposal to extend this principle a little further can be regarded simply as the despair of philanthropy. Even temperance societies, while accomplishing a necessary work, and achieving an

* Difference of employment and of race will not affect the argument, since formerly Cornwall was much more criminal; while the people of Monmouth and South Wales, when the proprietors remove the drink-shops out of the way, as they have recently done in several localities, become as sober and law-observing as any other.

unquestioned good, are quite inadequate to cope with that 'throne of iniquity,' which, under the license of law, is perpetually laying waste the fields of social beauty which moral suasion had reclaimed.

The suppression of public-houses, however, has always succeeded to the extent to which it has been tried. The removal of the cause cannot fail to abate the effect. Actual facts confirm and illustrate the axiom. There are districts on the continent (Kornthall is one) where, the traffic suppressed, the entire social and moral condition of the people has undergone a surprising change for the better. There are villages and parishes in England and Wales (as Scorton,* Dinorwic, and some Devon parishes), in which, over a series of years, the removal of the public-house has been followed by the almost utter absence of drunkenness and pauperism, and the extinction of crime. In Scotland, there are about thirty parishes without a public-house, and in many of these no serious crime has been committed for years, poor-rates have become unnecessary, and drunkenness is 'a strange thing.' If prohibition at the mere will of proprietors or magistrates works so beneficially, we need hardly anticipate the failure of the same principle when sanctioned by the popular vote. After the first novelty has passed, the law will resolve itself gradually into the fixed habits of the people, and the amazing benefits of its operation must surely guarantee its permanence. If we have, then, any clear and true perception of the nature and causes of intemperance; if we apprehend the fact aright, that it is not only a vice and crime in itself, but one which is concatenated with evils which are rife and most ruinous in our midst, and which stand in the path of a juster civilization; if we regard it as an effect of our own social habits, having its causes in false opinions and mistaken laws; if we believe that we can make powerful at home, a remedy which is potent in Massachusetts and

* In the village of SCORTON, near Lancaster, there are but about two families who do not regularly attend the Wesleyan Chapel. The late George Fishwick, Esq. (a man of great wealth and influence, a perfect gentleman and Christian), had a great abhorrence of liquor-shops, and conducted his own house on strictly temperance principles. He encouraged the working people to abstain from spending their 'money for that which is not bread,' allowing many of them to keep each a milch cow on his farm, on easy terms, so that each family had a good supply of milk and butter. As the village was not wholly in his hands, *two attempts were made to establish a public-house; but the people would neither go nor send to it*; so it was soon closed, and the village is free from the nuisance to this day. Now, what is the state of this village? Pauperism is almost unknown. There has been only one case before the magistrates for twenty years, and then the whole village felt itself disgraced, though the breaker of the law was a *stranger* among them. If a policeman happens to pass through the village, the children run out to look at him as a curiosity. There is a Wesleyan day-school, of which the people make good use, and a large and well-conducted Sunday-school. The chapel is filled with devout and attentive hearers, their easy circumstances being plainly manifest in their clothing and general appearance. What Scorton is without a public-house, thousands of villages will soon become when we get the Permissive Bill.

Maine, where it has become the settled policy of the people, winning year by year increasing majorities by the unerring logic of its marvellous consequences ; if we sincerely desire to behold the unimpeded triumph of our educational agencies of various kinds,—is it too much to hope that our country will at no distant day rise to the dignity of a patriotic surrender of those habits and institutions which weigh down her divinest energies, that tarnish the character of her people, that introduce elements of disturbance into every sphere of social life, and which frustrate the chief ends and highest aims of Government itself?

ART IV.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Lunatics ; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, and Minutes of Evidence.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 5th August, 1859.

2. *Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th August, 1859.

3. *Description of the Retreat, an Institution near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends.* By Samuel Tuke. York. 1813.

CIVILIZATION has both its gloomy and cheering aspect ; and each supplies a vast realm of thought to the mind in accordance with its tone, tendencies, and surroundings. Humanity delights to go back to the first faint dawnings of empires and epochs, to hang in silent rapture over the unfolding of new life and power. All men are in this respect enthusiastic naturalists, standing on the shore of the present, and peering down into the deep dark waters, enchanted with a creation as beautiful as that of a Victoria Regia. A yellow prickly mass rises slowly from the mud up to the light, the broad green leaves lap serenely upon the surface of the water, the large bud trembles in its emerald ark, and then the grand flower opens leaf by leaf, like a disrobing nymph, pale and radiant with a sweet consciousness of beauty. All are alike interested up to this point, when an empire or race has reared itself into beauty and symmetry ; but when once a certain point is reached, of efflorescence, expansion, or decay, the minds of men begin to diverge into separate paths ; the two aspects of civilization begin to develop themselves. Some minds are reaching forward to a period of greater promise, and others are scrutinizing and dissecting all the evils that are manifest, or are insinuating themselves at every forward movement. The ardent and philosophic launch into dreams of grand possibilities : Plato conceives a Republic, More a Utopia, Coleridge a Pantisocracy.

The

The saturnine and moody see only the corrupted aftergrowths, or prevailing evils, in all their aggravated and ghastly nakedness ; Swift scornfully creates his 'Gulliver's Travels,' Gibbon is fascinated with the wild waning of the empire of Rome, and Byron raves at the sad hollowness of life with the passion of a fallen angel. Both classes have our sympathy, while neither is wholly right. It is exalting to dream of ideal conditions, and upbuild ethereal fabrics and golden Arcadias ; it may be even pardonable to find great interest in human depravity, and in the revulsion of strong feeling to despair. But it is more manly to do neither, if we are supinely content with our wild fancies or wilder caricatures. Faith in God, in humanity, in truth, ought to inspire us with a sublimer heroism than dreaming, a grander passion than despair. Shaking off all fancies and fears, the man who calmly confronts the miseries around with a brave duty before him, is the truest man ; and that progress which shows itself in patient endeavours to ameliorate all the viciousness and misery it contracts in its onward sweep, is the purest and grandest civilization. It is unmanly to weep, sublime to create, divine to restore.

Humanity and tenderness are the only true marks of a heroic progression. Tried by this standard, our admiration of the vast systems of antiquity is certainly somewhat lessened. In fact, until Christianity assumed a living form and power, the civilization of all the nations was incomplete ; it wanted its redeeming virtues. When our Saviour began the mission of evangelization, man had done his best and come short of the purer spirit. Much help, pity, and succour had been extended to suffering humanity ; here and there some lofty soul had caught gleams of the coming dispensation ; but few earnest, organized efforts had been exerted upon any extensive scale. Mercy and compassion had never thoroughly permeated the human heart, until the example and eloquence of the Galilean and his band of apostles had stirred it to its very depths, and placed before mankind the highest form of aspiration, ' Peace on earth, and good will towards man.'

It is not for us to trace the fluctuations of this new element in human life and history, to note its silent invisible progress ; it is enough that we have endeavoured to enunciate a solemn and neglected truth. Whatever reverses this divinely-evoked principle of pity and compassion may have undergone, we may rejoice that in our day it has put forth new strength, and started forwards in newer fields of enterprise and conquest. We have not space to enumerate a tenth part of its exertions and influences : we would merely whisper a well-known name, bringing with it visions of sick soldiers and gentle spirits, and pass on.

To a healthy, intelligent man, there can be no more humiliating and saddening spectacle than that of a fellow-creature bereft of

what makes him Godlike and divine—a blank and melancholy semblance of humanity, a disfigured and distorted image of our All-wise Progenitor. Hence in early times a madman was deemed stricken of God, or the Nemesis, and poor feeble minds were reverenced as having something in them superhuman and saintly. It would have been well if such ideas had taken deeper root, and then our task had been a brighter and more pleasing one; for, whatever enlightenment did for the poor and needy, it does not seem to have done much for the miserable lunatic. A marked and hideous thing, a forlorn, mocked, and despised being, he was left to ramble abroad uncared for, alike amid summer's heat and winter's cold, cut off for ever from all sympathy and social relations. Amongst the Hebrews even, with all their preshowings of purer things, the man bereft of reason was little better treated. When David simulated madness at Gath, and 'scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard,' Achish, the king, said, 'Have I need of madmen, that ye have brought this fellow to play the madman in my presence? Shall this fellow come into my house?' And we may regard the terrible visitation upon Nebuchadnezzar as that of insanity, with all its violent human and social estrangements. In Greece, the insane seem to have been rare, owing, probably, to the great attention ever paid to physical health and robustness. When in good circumstances, as later in Rome, they were retained under the supervision of their friends, but when poor they must have depended for subsistence upon the state, coming yearly for their pittance before the senate, with their olive branch wreathed with wool, along with the aged and otherwise infirm. In neither Greece nor Rome can we find any attempts to mitigate their condition or reclaim them; and the luxurious patron of Horace and Virgil, soothing his sleepless brain by the murmur of fountains and cascades, is our only evidence of any palliative means whatever. The only receptacle for the poorer sort of Roman lunatics was the common prison, in which the law enacted that they should be confined in chains; and only the compassion of the officer in charge came between the law and its unhesitating fulfilment. Even in more Christian times, amongst ourselves, the poor madman was deemed little better than a brute; and men shrugged their shoulders pharisaically as they passed him, quieting their consciences by imagining he had forfeited all claims upon their charity or fellow-feeling. If he chanced to be wealthy, his relatives took care of him, but were rather tetchy if their prerogative was interfered with or questioned. Horace Walpole writes so late as 1777: 'In April, my nephew, Lord Orford, went mad again, and was under my care; but as he had employed a lawyer of whom I had a bad opinion in his affairs, I refused to take care of them.'

them.' Nominally, however, his nephew was still under his charge, for he adds, the next year: 'My Lord Orford recovering in March, I gave up the care of him.' For the poor there was hardly any other refuge than the gloomiest cells of a common prison. Here all curative treatment resolved itself into two courses. When violent, or goaded into being so by cruel gaolers, he was buffeted, whipped, and starved, that he might gently come back to reason. If he was mild and harmless, or had come to some degree of soberness, we learn from Aubrey, who is confirmed by allusions in Shakspeare, that when licensed to go out 'an armilla of tin, printed, of about three inches breadth,' was soldered upon the left arm, and he was sent forth to beg a miserable subsistence as best he might. In 'King Lear' we have a description of this class, who formed the centre of many a terrible ballad and weird village legend.

'The country gives me proof and precedent
Of Bedlam beggars, who, with roaring voices,
Strike in their numb'd and mortified bare arms,
Pins, wooden prick's, nails, sprigs of rosemary ;
And with this horrible object, from low farms,
Poor pelting villages, sheepcotes, and mills,
Sometimes with lunatic bans, sometimes with prayers,
Enforce their charity.'

These unfortunates were even persecuted for their erratic fancies, as many an old crone had been by swimming and torture because she chanced to suffer from indigestion, and plucked her rue leaves or dug up her gentian root to relieve it. A poor madman in the reign of James I., who called himself the Holy Ghost, was burned at the stake because, forsooth, he knew no better.

But at length there came a mighty upheaving in the religious and social life, bringing with it many important general reforms. It only partially affected the insane by providing them one place in the whole of our country for their resort and restoration. A citizen of London, Simon Fitz-Mary, had founded, in 1247, a convent called the House of Bethlehem, from its yearly payment of one mark to the bishop of that name ; and in the course of a century from its foundation it had gradually assumed the character of a hospital. An inquisition taken in 1403 reports that there were in the house six lunatics and three other sick persons. In 1546 the hospital was presented to the City by Henry VIII., and was subsequently placed under the control of the governors of Bridewell, and entirely set apart for the insane. In 1664 there were forty-four inmates ; and the building falling into a ruinous condition, the corporation set apart 17,000*l.* for a new one, on the model of the Tuileries in Paris. It was rebuilt again in 1815. But in 1751 Bethlem was relieved of its overplus of patients by the opening of St. Luke's, with accommodation for something like

three hundred patients. We can say nothing as to the kind treatment of the inmates during these periods, for Bethlem Hospital seems to have inaugurated the almost hellish system of heavily-locked manacles, hobbles, muzzles, stocks, and other instruments of torture, that make our blood curdle as we read of them. A very few years after its appropriation for lunatics, a committee reported that it was too loathsome to be visited, and down even to 1814 a most cruel confinement and coercion prevailed. The patients were mostly chained to the walls, either by one arm or leg, so as just to be able to stand upright and sit down, and a miserable blanket covering the body was all that could keep them warm or render them human. The men are described as looking like so many wretched dogs in some huge filthy kennel. Squalor and misery reigned supreme and omnipotent, and the walls of the hospital enclosed quite a mimic Pandemonium. In fact, it was not until the fame of this hospital had extended itself that we find the expressive word 'Bedlam' introduced into our language. Shakspeare is the first who uses it, in the Second Part of Henry VI., where the king speaks of York's 'bedlam and ambitious humour'; so little as yet had humanity done, with all the new impulses flowing from a renovated religion, to soften and commiserate the condition of her degraded and unfortunate outcasts.

If the English and the Dutch claim to be first in establishing special retreats for the insane, to the French are due the first attempts to restore them by gentler and more humane efforts. St. Vincente de Paul, a poor parish priest at Clichy, who, assisted by a pious and benevolent lady, founded the order of missions, afterwards called the Lazarites, from the house of St. Lazarus, in Paris, where their chief strength lay, was unceasing in his endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the insane. He recommended their admittance into the hospitals in place of the common prisons, and by various exercises of benevolence began a better state of things. Ténon, a French physician, and La Rochefoucauld also helped in the great movement; the former by an essay upon their state and treatment, the latter by an able memoir based upon it brought before the Constituent Assembly. Pinel, the humane physician of the Bicêtre, contributed a real and tangible result in favour of lighter restraints and an entirely new system of treatment by his liberations during the Reign of Terror. Twelve of the most violent cases were released at starting as the first part of the experiment, and the effect was magical. Their bonds removed, and entire confidence established between the patients and the physician, nature herself struggled up to the light of reason like flowers towards the sun. The strangest case of all was the first one. The man was an English captain, a wild and terrible

terrible fellow, who had once felled a keeper, as an ox, with one swing of his manacled arm. He had been confined so long that neither his name nor his crime—if he were guilty of any—could be remembered. The physician approached him alone, and told him his errand, and that he would merely substitute a waistcoat for his fetters. The man seemed full of wonder and amazement. His chains were removed, and the door of his cell left open. And when at length, after several ineffectual attempts, his feeble limbs, cramped and fettered for forty long and terrible years, were able to sustain him, he tottered to the door, and like a spent and broken-winged bird, gushing forth a song, half joy half pain, at recovered liberty, he seemed to grow wild and ecstatic at the sight of the bright blue heavens. From that hour he was a sane man, and assisted in quietly managing the house for the two years prior to his final liberation. Many other cases—some fifty in number—where reason returned upon the removal of the inmates from their damp cells and fiendish tortures, fully justified the most sanguine hopes of Pinel. His philanthropic example was followed in various provincial prisons with the same striking success.

The British nation, ever slow to be fully aroused, was still slumbering on, imagining herself to be the perfect embodiment of charity and loving-kindness because she tortured the crazy to prevent them injuring other people, and now and then bestirred herself to erect a few asylums in different parts of the country. Had she not her Bethlem and St. Luke's, her private houses here and there for the better class of patients? were not her taxes devoted to keep these men and their keepers, to pay for iron collars, fetters, and gags innumerable? why should she be moved by a multitude of crack-brained Bedlam Toms? And so the nation nodded in self-complaisant after-dinner philanthropy, with one hand on her money-bags and the other on her digestive centre, until private individuals by their schemes and acts brought shame and reproach upon the dreaminess of patriotic parliaments. As a solitary wakeful exception, we know of no stranger one than that of the irascible and moody Dean Swift, at heart somewhat miserly, and flaring upon us from his writings like a portentous meteor, bequeathing, ere he himself became imbecile and blank, half his large fortune to erect and endow a hospital for lunatics. The two more prominent manifestations of private enterprise both began in the fine old city of York, the conglomerate representation of so many distinct civilizations. In the first movement of 1772, its ostensible object was the erection of a public edifice for those deplorable lunatics ‘who had no other support than a needy parent could bestow, or a thrifty parish officer provide.’ Archbishop Drummond headed the scheme; inquiries brought to light a considerable number of this

this class in the three ridings, and the result was the York Asylum, constructed to hold fifty patients, with one matron, one head keeper, and three servants of each sex. The number of attendants was amusingly small, but had not been enlarged when some years later the asylum contained two hundred inmates. Things ran on well for a time; but with the introduction of a better class of patients to make it pay, came feeing of physicians, neglect of the poorer sort, irregular, or rather no visitation at all, and the most flagrant internal abuse and disorder. The second organized movement was destined to revolutionize the whole system of asylum provisions and treatment. Springing from an apparently trivial incident, it serves to add another to the many curious instances of great things arising out of merest trifles; the digestion of a king affecting the destiny of an empire, and the overturning of a coach developing into new relations some ordinary human life. The falling of an apple produces the theory of gravitation, the marvellous memories of ox-eyed youths begets phrenology, and the refusal of acquaintances to visit a female of the Society of Friends, confined in a private house near York, and her subsequent death, were sufficient to create from pre-existing sympathies the salutary plan of dealing with the insane as human beings and human brethren. This event took place in 1791. The soul and impetus of this change seems to have had no great notions of any national good or honour to himself accruing from it; like many another brave man, he merely saw it to be necessary as far as it regarded his particular section of the community, and quietly and orderly set to work. There had been many conversations, many 'thees' and 'thous' on the subject, until a definite suggestion was made to William Tuke, who, ably assisted by Lindley Murray, shaped his ideas into form, and brought them before a Quarterly Meeting at York in March 1792. There was something very natural in these grave and kindly men, who had made their lives and dress so noble a protestation of principle and spirit, combining with such unostentatious benevolence to frame an indirect protest, and an actual remedy for so unchristian a state of things. It would be well if we could always remember such instances of heroic generosity in place of the drab coats and broad-brimmed hats by which, until lately, the elements of Quakerism were supposed to be defined and manifest.

Preliminaries arranged, and something like a thousand pounds in hand, land was purchased, a design was selected, and May 1796 saw the Retreat finished, opened, and succeeding so admirably, that two additional wings were soon required. A more rational treatment of the insane was commenced under Dr. Fowler, and continued by his successors, Drs. Capp and Belcombe, displaying so much sound commonsense that we are inclined to find amusement

ment in the contrasts brought out between the old and the new systems. Taking as their groundwork what Locke had said concerning the education of children, that 'the great secret lies in finding the way to keep the child's spirit easy, active, and free, and yet at the same time to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things which are uneasy to him,' they adapted themselves to individual moods and cases. For the purposes of control they employed few mechanical means, relying upon the confidence which kindness invariably induces, striving to evoke in the blunted and wayward mind that desire of esteem which is rarely altogether absent, and clinging in all their operations to those remnants of affection that will often survive the wreck of every right mental perception. Indolence, that consuming vice of the mind, they sedulously banished, encouraging sprightly games, reading, writing, drawing, and useful occupations. Active physical exercise was not forgotten, but was judiciously adapted to particular cases, especially hypochondriacal ones. One unfortunate individual who declared 'I have no soul ; I have neither heart, liver, nor lungs ; nor anything at all in my body, nor a drop of blood in my veins ; my bones are sometimes burnt to a cinder ; I have no brain ; and my head is sometimes as hard as iron, and sometimes as soft as pudding,' marked out his own line of cure by walking two hundred miles in company with a friend, and arriving at the Retreat much the better for his tramp. The attendants were amiable and thoughtful persons, anxious to carry out in their integrity the principles of their superiors, and so skilled in the arts of conciliation and making comfortable as to need no stronger provocative than fear to accomplish their wishes. The medical part was equally rational and sensible. The warm bath was found to be much more efficacious in mania than the cold one ; and the idea of their insensibility to atmospheric changes was entirely dissipated, their experience of its injurious and often fatal effects being confirmed by the famous physician of L'Hôpital de Bicêtre, in Paris, already mentioned. In cases where heretofore sleep had been obtained by narcotics, these sensible observers found that a full and generous meal had the same effect upon man as animals. Topical blood-letting was occasionally employed, but there were none of those extravagant proceedings so common elsewhere. The whole organization was so complete and humane in comparison with others, that foreign physicians of celebrity were attracted thither by its fame, took back with them enlarged and exalted views of the greatness of their work, and have left us eloquent testimonials of its simplicity, order, and efficiency.

In 1813, Mr. Samuel Tuke, a grandson of the founder of the York Retreat, published an account of that institution, with some general

general reflections upon the care and cure of the insane, and a tabular statement of cases. Dr. Best, the physician to the York Asylum, imagined he discovered throughout the book a concealed attack upon the institution under his care, and rushed into print with an affected quixotism. His valour, and the controversy generally, attracted public attention, when unfortunately for him some not very creditable cases came to the knowledge of Mr. Godfrey Higgins, a magistrate of the West Riding, who succeeded in getting an investigation, and disclosing an amount of gross cruelty and corrupt dealing within the asylum that at last fairly aroused a phlegmatic people and an abstracted parliament. A select committee sat and heard evidence that made all the horrors of Radcliffe romances and Black Holes tame and delightful. The wretched state of Bethlem and St. Luke's was fully exposed, with details of chains and tortures, nakedness and starvation that we humanely refrain from inflicting upon our readers. So widely had the management of these places deviated from the ordinary course that even their therapeutics had become crazy and empirical. Twice every year all the curable patients were commonly bled, and dosed with cathartics and emetics, while the physician himself was oftener insanely intoxicated than otherwise. Public opinion was at last fairly awakened: parliament bestirred itself in a series of enactments on the subject which are in themselves a history. Medical men began to examine, theorize, and write books. Asylums crowned healthy eminences in almost every county, and recognized visitations kept the authorities on the alert and prevented all serious mismanagement. The poorer class of lunatics had ample provision made for them. Commissioners in lunacy were appointed, boards established, and in the estimation of all poor Tom of Bedlam became a virtual man, whom it behoved his fellow-men to restore, and charity at least to pity, console, and treat kindly. From being harmless saints and dangerous sinners, modern maniacs became simple childish creatures and educable beings.

Collateral with this humane progress in England, a similar movement, as regards the science of mind generally, sane and insane, was shaping itself amongst the dreamy thinkers of Germany. The one with her sober practical inclinations busily rectifying past evils, and improving the condition of a large unfortunate class; the other, unconsciously following out her mission of thinking upon everything and for everybody, was regarding madness in newer and more startling aspects. Her active minds ran swiftly where we had been content to creep on all fours. Insanity with them was the reverse of pure wisdom—folly; and putting together their knowledge of the different organs of mind as revealed in the demarcations of lunacy, the various stages of development possible and

and impossible, and the wild freaks of nature in her distorted life, they proceeded to frame an extended system of science, physical and psychological. Madness to them was, as it were, a geologic upheaving of the different mental strata whereby they might recur to inceptive processes, general laws, and exceptive instances. They began by assuming the existence of folly, and thereupon penetrating in various directions after what they dimly recognized as wisdom in the concrete. They were like so many Champollions, Layards, and Rawlinsons groping among the wrecks of the mind, deciphering its weird characters and mutilated pictures, and sending reason and fancy far and wide with wild untiring wing. We cannot find that practically or beneficially they applied the strange secrets they had wrung from an exhausted and powerless nature. Its only influence seems to have been upon their literature and general studies, pervading all their university teaching, and affecting even less transcendental English students with somewhat of its mysticism. They were in possession of new keys to history, biography, and all the imaginative literature, both prose and poetical, that a past or present fecundity opened around them, and they soared at once into higher regions of critical and philosophical speculation. Not content with mere representations, even though they were marionettes, they carefully analyzed all the hidden mechanism of strings and wires. How far their ideas of literary conception and execution were affected by their anthropology, will be seen in the following definition of a tragedy by an English friend of Barry Cornwall's, studying at Göttingen. He is speaking of the connection between the studies of the physician and the dramatist, and adds: 'It still remains for some one to exhibit the sum of his experience in mental pathology and therapeutics, not in a cold, technical, dead description, but a living, semiotical display, a series of anthropological experiments, developed for the purpose of ascertaining some important psychical principle—*i.e.*, a tragedy.*

But Teutonic restlessness was not content to stop here. Another science, starting from an apparently different point, had come alongside, and, more materialistic and empirical, was tending to quite as singular a result. While Kant and Schubert were reasoning from within outwards, Gall and Spurzheim were fingering the indentations of skulls, and from an exterior status as shadowy as the fulcrum upon which the lever of Archimedes ideally moved the world, were focussing their little gleams of knowledge, and mapping out the organic brain. In this the new science was but following in the wake of older ones. The latter had dealt with the general laws of mind; the former created from individuals

* 'Poems, Posthumous and Collected, of Thomas Lovell Beddoes,' vol. i. p. 51.
a system

a system which she again applied to individuals, reaching its acme in the leaden cap proposed to accommodate itself to the good and evil bumps of a young child's cranium, and its imus in the physiognomy of Carus and Lavater. Anthropclogy and phrenology might have done great things for insanity if the vigorous commonsense of our own nation had directed them. They were floating volumes of heavenly fire that wanted wire and needle to guide and control their wild flashes. Unfortunately we cannot discern much that is pre-eminently human about either. From the former our medical science and literature have received a new and healthier impetus; but we regard it as the signal failure of the latter that, with all its anatomical disclosures, and its professions of educating men and nations to something higher and completer than our nature has yet known, it has fallen dumb and prostrate before images its own vehemence had doomed, and proved so empty and delusive in a science where by directness and volume it would seem to have promised a thorough and catholic revolution.

Fully comprehending all this, and the complex character of the natural history of insanity, we are confronted by the stern, cold fact of a Sphynx problem as yet unread and unsolved. In this there is something sadly humiliating to our proud natures. Falconlike we have wheeled aloft to the very stars, and quarried upon all the kingdoms and treasures of the earth, but here, even in our own minds, in their estrangements and hallucinations we are trashed, mewed, and hooded. We can discern the inner life of plants, animals, and seas, and wring from the stony pages of the great earth-volume answers to our everlasting inquiries, and secrets that seemed bound up as firmly in its rocky leaves as the great book of spells in the death-grasp of Michael Scott. But with all our morbid self-examination and subjective philosophizing, wherein even our literature has not escaped some slight tincturing, we stand abashed and confounded before the phenomena of our own minds. We have come to know something of our bodies, but we know little as yet respecting our minds either in health or disease. In purely physical pathology there have been a few feeble movements towards systematization. The chief of these is of German origin, and had its preshowings in the period already referred to—we mean homeopathy. But we cannot find that any like ambitious attempt has been made in psychology. The absence of this coherence is shown alike by scientific and unscientific books. One or two authorities, however, stand out conspicuously, and the future may see from them all that can be hoped for or desired in this respect. At present we meet with curious remnants of the old methods, dovetailed into more modern and enlightened economies. We are yet apt to cherish the idea, that on the disarrangement or obliteration of the mental faculties all that makes the man is gone, and

and guided by that idea we adapt our treatment. There is little feeling, even with the tremulous fingers of a blind man, after what portions of the mind and heart remain intact, and may help to supply and work out the entirety of the whole. A man is wild and raving, and ten to one but he gets violently used by some keeper, whose only recommendation for the office is a large amount of muscular strength and rude courage. The sane side of an insane mind, so to speak, rarely troubles either a physician or attendant to discover, at least in the majority of cases. Personal freedom, even for the gratification of harmless freaks, is not always allowed, but a sullen gloom engendered by fierce opposition and strict seclusion. We still half believe that doctoring, after divers and sundry fashions, is all the education desirable, and in many of our asylums there preponderates the gloomy, prison-like appearance that oppresses even a healthy man. More light, cheerfulness, colour, diversity, and airiness are required in such places ; and we are pleased to find in the present report reiterated recommendations to this effect, and kindly notices of the additions of pictures and flowers to the rooms and galleries, and greater attractions to the gardens and pleasure-grounds generally. We all know that anything bright is cheerful and attractive, or we should not turn out so for constitutionals in the sunshine, or crowd the cosy fire at eventide ; and many a poor lunatic has wasted a fund of affection upon a polished candlestick or a bit of coloured glass. Warmth and personal comfort, too, are not sufficiently thought of, and the old belief of the madman's insensibility to cold clings to us yet.

In such matters as these we have not hitherto been able entirely to put from us the influence of the elder system ; but as all defects and mismanagement are sure either to attract the notice of the commissioners, or the Alleged Lunatics' Friend Society, and come before the public in some form or other, we are in a fair way for doing so most effectually.

But setting aside the want of a broad and liberal philosophy of insanity, there are yet many points in the social and general condition of the insane, revealed in these official papers, that demand our attention. There exist several singular anomalies in the laws for the admission and discharge of patients upon which considerable stress is laid in the parliamentary evidence. The law requires that the admission order shall be signed by two medical men, and although it expressly states that the admittance of a patient upon an informal or inadequate certificate is a misdemeanour, it omits to specify the really responsible person. In case of its rejection by the commissioners, the paper is returned for emendation ; but this not being compulsory, it will happen that the relieving officer, if it is a pauper case, says he has nothing more to do

do with it, and the medical men the same. The commissioners have no power to order a second trial, and the sane or insane subject of it all may be either mercilessly retained or unceremoniously discharged. Even in case of an inquisition, the liberty of the subject is seriously impaired. A notice is served upon the person, but he or she has no *right* to be present, except by attorney, and there are no regulations either for cross-examination or tendering contrary evidence. The case of a lady, at least partially sane, who was promised a solicitor, but could not obtain one for this purpose, is tendered in evidence in this report. In these matters there is ample room for improvement, especially when we consider how much we are behind our neighbours in this respect. The Dutch seem to be the only persons who exclude from the insane all knowledge of the charge preferred against him. In Russia and Prussia a thorough investigation takes place, and the chance of improper admittance is very small indeed. In France and Belgium the laws are very cautious and discriminating. A Frenchman's case is examined before a *conseil de famille*, at which evidence *pro* and *con* may be offered, and even then the magistrate employs a special medical man, and the *procureur de roi* a second, ere his insanity is considered proven. The *conseil de famille* exists in Belgium, but a like confinement to ours by certificate is practised, with the machinery of local committees and general boards. In this local judicature Belgium resembles America, where almost every town has its court of trial and appeal in such cases. The Channel Islands afford a similar examination, no person being confined except upon the jurats, who are the judges, immediately summoning a court of five or six persons, with two physicians to aid in their consultation. Growing out of this disparity in our law, which leaves such a margin for possible duplicity and fraud, is an admirable proposition to the effect that a sanatorium, or probationary asylum, be established near London, under the auspices of the commissioners, erected by government, but self-sustaining, for all cases of doubtful insanity where the patient had previously been placed in an asylum. This would obviate many of those cases of not unfrequent occurrence, where persons having been found lunatic by inquisition, however falsely, have neither hope nor means of further help left them. The greater proportion of cures take place within the first six months; but the chancery lunatic seems so well secured for a longer term when he once gets within an asylum, that he rarely gets cured at all. This is a startling fact, and even when due allowance is made for severe and hereditary cases, we cannot but marvel that only eleven persons have been cured in ten years out of nine hundred cases, whereas during the same period the proportion in other patients has been infinitely greater.

With

With regard to the discharge of patients the law is little less hampering and absurd. Two separate commissioners have power, after two distinct visits, with an interval of seventy days, to decide as to fitness for discharge, but medical testimony in addition is required, and a considerable period may intervene. And in order also to procure a *supersedeas*, if the lunatic is under commission, no matter how long he may have been confined, or how long he may have been, or whether he was ever insane at all, it is necessary for him to acknowledge a previous insanity. The case of a debtor in York gaol is mentioned who was also under a commission of lunacy, and reported to several successive chancellors to be sane, but was still detained because he was silly enough not to comply with a sillier law. A criminal, too, whose lunacy may have supervened during his term of imprisonment, has no means of becoming, after the expiry of that term, an ordinary patient, but is confined as long as his madness continues, it may be even, as in a recent case at Colney Hatch, for full eight years.

The next point for attention is the inadequacy in the number of attendants and their too indiscriminate selection. The average to every hundred patients is little more than four, and in refractory cases under twenty. Nor when we consider how much depends upon their management in both curable and incurable cases, can we elevate too much the standard of qualification and intelligence. They are either helps or hindrances in the measures of their superiors, and the number of those discharged for brutal behaviour between 1847 and 1853, of male attendants no less than forty-nine, the charges recorded against them in the statutory returns, and the continued references, even in the present report, to the black eyes and bruises of the inmates, some of which are doubtless self-made, though not all—all these strongly indicate the necessity of a superior class of men. In one case of severe ill-usage, mentioned in both the blue books, the attendant was a sailor and had but recently come ashore. Nor does it appear that any but a very shadowy authority has power to exercise prompt command over a regular attendant; he can only be dismissed by a board. In all large establishments, therefore, the appointment of a suggested superintendent of attendants, invested with higher powers, is eminently desirable. The commissioners have particularly recommended an increase of night attendants, as calculated to soothe the noisy and restless by removing sources of irritation, and attending to their wants and personal comfort. This is as much a matter of preventive humanity, in all violent and epileptic cases, as of cleanliness and economy.

Seclusion is still practised to a very considerable extent, and the commissioners are full of warning on this head. The great number of cases of solitary confinement resulting in insanity in both

both home and foreign penitentiaries, is assuredly sufficient to carry weight and force with their cautions. Although many eminent authorities agree as to its beneficial employment in some cases, we ought to insist upon each one being recorded in the books as such, never allowing its adoption, as shame to tell has been the case, from economical motives, and as a substitute for the watchfulness and supervision of proper attendants. The general and proper tendency is to abolish both seclusion and refractory wards. But undue mechanical restraints are often unnecessarily employed. At Haverfordwest, where for many years a sort of refined Bedlam has been upheld, four heavy restraint chairs are noticed as still existing, in spite of repeated recommendations to the contrary. We read that a patient found there in September, 1857, 'in a restraint chair in a dark cell, with her hands and feet cold, her arms confined in iron sleeves, and with bruises on her legs and on her eye, died shortly afterwards,' and that her death was returned as 'natural decay !' The case of Dewsbury workhouse in June, 1847, was even worse. One man was found fastened by a chain and wristlock to the bench; a second was chained by the leg; and a third was hobbled with a short chain attached to rings. Several women, too, were chained, and the commissioner says: 'I found most of these patients' (elsewhere described as 'in a quiet state') 'were also chained to their beds at night.' He adds: 'The attendants in the lunatic wards, who are not responsible paid officers; but pauper inmates of the house, are intrusted with all the instruments of restraint, which are very numerous and in great variety; and as far as I could ascertain there is no check whatever to their employing them when they think fit.'

The same practice resulting from inferior attendants is confirmed by the report for the following year, and cases, of the workhouse of St. George the Martyr, Southwark. Improper restraints, it would seem, are more common in workhouse wards and in private houses than in county asylums. The case of Acomb House, near York, in which a lady patient had been violently and indecently used by the medical proprietor, will be fresh in the memories of our readers. A bench warrant, we are happy to add, still remains in force against the self-exiled man.

To remove all these remnants of the elder system nothing can prove so efficient as a better system of visiting. In this the Lunatics' Friend Society has unquestionably effected much. When one of its members visited poor Feargus O'Connor, the proprietor of the asylum bluntly observed: 'I assure you I would rather see the devil in my asylum than you.' And, in truth, to an uneasy man it is impossible to conceive anything more annoying

ing and disturbing. On the question of visiting by the authorities, and the various modifications of existing rules so desirable, there is ample room for enlargement.

Let it not be supposed that we have given undue prominence to this subject in any of its bearings. The treatment of the insane, physically, morally, and socially, is one of the great problems of our day ; and while in foreign countries, and partially amongst ourselves, the cretin, the idiot, the deaf, the mute, and the blind are being gradually reclaimed and placed upon something like ordinary human levels, we have an ample field for all our philanthropy and generosity. Yon weak and wandering man now crooning to himself like a child, anon raving in wild storms of passion, or skipping and gambolling like Puck himself, has all the claims of human relationship upon us. He may have forfeited some of his highest gifts, and wrenched himself away from the love and compassion of his friends, but in the estimation of society he ought never to lose his human birthright, or lack the tenderesses of some good Samaritan. When Sophocles was charged with insanity by his sons, he read to the judges his 'Œdipus Coloneus ;' and many a poor lunatic nowadays might point to his simple love for nature, and all her sweet sights and sounds, and even his erratic friendships, to prove that he is not wholly destitute of a man's nature and heart. To civilization with its excessive brain-work and over-culture, its continued strain upon the nervous centres, its intermarriages, its poverty, and its inefficient and adulterated food, most of our insanity is owing ; and surely it is our duty to be prompt and open-handed in all remedial measures, penetrated by impulses of pure beneficence and Christian love. The old blind bard of Greece, weary and wayworn, but glad at heart, and busy with pictures of fancied repose, enters the gates of Cumæ, where cradled in the lap of a tender mother he drew in his young life. At first honoured, he is at length refused the city's hospitality, and full of tears and bitter thoughts he turns his back upon the ungrateful place. The poor crazed man is the product of our civilization and its concomitant evils, and he lifts up to us his dim eyes and beseeching hands like this aged beggar. And may all the curses he vented against the Cumæans fall upon us if we shut our hands against help, and close our ears to the divine voices of muses more beautiful and winning than ever couched amid the clouds of Parnassus, or tripped amid the dewy glens of Cithæron !

ART. V.—1. *Life and Liberty in America.* By Charles Mackay, LL.D. 1859.

2. *Glimpses of Affairs in America.* By W. Chambers. 1857.

3. *Letters from the Slave States.* By James Stirling. 1857.

4. *File of the New York 'Tribune.'* 1858-60.

THE atmosphere of the domestic politics of the United States has never been of the mildest nature. The union fought itself into being, and its subsequent existence has been one of continual strife. But latterly the aspect of affairs has yearly been assuming a more and more gloomy appearance, until at the present time a crisis of great magnitude seems to be impending over the country, threatening the dismemberment of the confederation, and the introduction of the numerous calamitous events which would 'tread on the heel' of such an unfortunate occurrence. But virtually, or at all events, morally speaking, the union of the States ceased to exist when the independence of the colonies was recognized by the mother country. During the revolutionary war the entire population, white and black, were bound together in the prosecution of a common cause, for the attainment of a common object—the individual as well as national liberty of the whole people, without distinction of colour or circumstance; but no sooner had the war terminated, than discord appeared in the camp of the republic: for whilst some of the States, in the most honourable manner, proceeded either to liberate their slaves, or provide for their gradual emancipation, as a meet reward for their patriotism, others of them, to their eternal disgrace, sought rather to consolidate and intensify the sufferings of the unfortunate negroes, who, though they had fought and bled for the liberation of the commonwealth, were deprived of all share in the glorious results of the successful issue. The consequence of this was an actual division of the States into two sections—the one north, and free, the other south, and slave—between whom there has since been an unintermitting contest for supremacy. The late disgraceful proceedings at Washington in the matter of the election of Speaker were a fair sample of the kind of warfare which has been going on for the last eighty years or more. The question of slavery has been the foundation of all the troubles of the Union: a retrospective glance at the history of that subject will not, therefore, be uninteresting.

The declaration of independence was made on the 4th July, 1776, but there was no regular federal constitution framed until 1787, and that did not come into execution until 1789. During the interval the country was governed by a 'Congress of Confederation,' which sat sometimes at New York and sometimes at Philadelphia.

Down to 1789, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had made provision for the emancipation of their slaves.

In 1783 the old Congress met for the purpose of considering the subject of 'ways and means,' and to apportion between the several States the liabilities incurred during the war just then brought to a close. The basis adopted was that of population. The first question that presented itself was the manner in which the slaves should be counted, or whether they should be counted at all. The slave States maintained that the blacks ought not to be counted, on the ground that they were 'property' and not persons; but the free States held the reverse: the slaves, they said, were persons and not 'property,' and ought, therefore, to be counted. After considerable discussion, however, a compromise was adopted, the matter being settled by reckoning three-fifths only of the slaves as a basis of population.

In 1784, Virginia and some other States ceded to government a large tract of territory to the west of the Ohio, to be appropriated for the benefit of the national treasury. No sooner had the Congress met to consider the organization and settlement of these territories, than the question arose as to whether they should be occupied by slave or free labour. Here, again, the north and south were at issue, and the struggle continued for three years without any conclusive result. On the 1st March 1784, a committee was appointed to report on the matter. Mr. Jefferson was the leading member, and the originator of the main article of the report, which was to the effect that slavery should be excluded from all the territories of the Union, which might be admitted into the confederation of States in future. On the 19th April this proposition was rejected by Congress. The friends of liberty made one more effort in March 1785, but were again defeated. During the debates some of the representatives of the slaveholding States were most violent in their denunciations; and not a few of them threatened withdrawal from the Union if their views were not adopted. Indeed, things were brought to such a pitch, that it was found impossible to carry on the business of the country.

As a last resort a convention was called in order to form a firmer government, and reconsider the subject of the territories. The first thing to do was to organize a system of representation. It was settled that population should be the basis. Then reappeared the vexed question as to how the slaves were to be counted. The matter had been settled in respect of taxation by counting five negroes as three persons. The South was willing to adopt the same plan as a basis of representation; but the North objected, on the same grounds that the South had previously demurred when the subject of taxation was under consideration.

Finally, another special committee was formed. The result was the birth of a new compromise, which obtained the concurrence of both the contending parties. The South, on its part, conceded that the territories north and west of the Ohio should be free, provided that every facility should be given to slaveholders in pursuit of 'fugitives from labour' from out the slave States, and who might have secreted themselves in the free States; and the North, on its part, accepted the three-fifths calculation of the slaves as a basis of representation, and also subscribed to the article which guaranteed to the Slave-traders the integrity of their inhuman traffic until the 1st January 1808. By this arrangement the pro-slavery party was for the time appeased, and the abolitionists satisfied. The latter considered that they had obtained more advantageous terms than their opponents, consoling themselves with the idea that slavery would cease to exist upon the prohibition of the external trade. Their hopes were strengthened by the progress already made in the direction of emancipation by many of the States, and by the partial measures introduced by some of the remaining States, which seemed to indicate that they would ere long follow the example of their more liberal confederates; for several of the southern States had already passed laws for the prohibition or restriction of negro imports. Even North Carolina, which had been so strenuous in its opposition to Jefferson's territorial motion, had prohibited the trade for twelve months, an experiment which she afterwards repeated annually until 1804; but in that year the demand for labour began to increase, and from thence to January 1808 there had been 33,775 slaves imported into the port of Charleston. The act of Congress, however, as previously agreed upon, put an end to the infamous traffic, and the planters had thenceforward to rely upon their own resources.

To keep up the narrative of the conflict between the two parties, we must now go back to the year 1803, the period of the celebrated Louisiana debates. In that year the Congress had to take into consideration the appropriation and government of a large extent of territory obtained by purchase from the Emperor Napoleon. The best friends of the Union objected to the purchase of the territory at all; but their opposition was useless, for in addition to a united South, which had an eye to the extension of its favourite 'institution,' certain ambitious representatives of the North voted for incorporation: the district to be parcelled out into states, and admitted into the confederation as soon as they attained the population, &c., required by law; but there was no provision made as to whether the constitutions of such states were to be slave or free! Such was the state of utter indifference into which the anti-slavery party had fallen, and the false security into which the measures of 1787 had thrown them. The slave-states were now

now all-powerful, for notwithstanding their inferiority in population, they were, by the three-fifths calculation of their slaves, entitled to a representation equal, if not superior, to that of the free States. Besides which the politicians of the country had become completely demoralized; self-interest, in its lowest forms, had taken the place of the patriotism which had animated the great lights of the revolution. Josiah Quincy, in speaking of the Louisiana Bill, thus describes the means employed in securing its passage through Congress:—

‘The passage of the Louisiana Admission Bill was effected by acts which slaveholders well knew how to select and apply. Sops were given to the congressional watch-dogs of the free States. To some, promises were made by way of opiates; and those whom they could neither pay nor drug were publicly treated with insolence and scorn. Threats, duels, and violence were at that day, as now, modes approved by them to deter men from awakening the free States to a sense of danger. From the moment the act was passed, they saw that the free States were shorn of their strength; that they had obtained space to multiply their slaves at their will; and Mr. Jefferson had confidently told them that, from that moment, the ‘constitution of the United States was blank paper;’ but more correctly there was no longer any constitution. The slaveholders from that day saw they had the free States in their power; and that they were masters, and the free States slaves; and have acted accordingly. From the passage of the Louisiana Bill until this day, their policy has been directed to a single object, with almost uninterrupted success. That object was to exclude the free States from any share of power, except in subserviency to their views; and they have undeniably, during the subsequent period of our history (the administration of John Quincy Adams only excepted), placed in the chair of state, either slaveholders or men from the free States who, for the sake of power, consented to be their tools—“northern men with southern principles”—in other words, men who, for the sake of power or pay, were willing to do what they would set them upon.’*

We have already remarked that it was the general opinion that the existence of slavery depended upon the importation of negroes from Africa, and that so soon as such importation ceased the institution would gradually die out; for it was supposed that such a scarcity of the ‘article’ would follow upon prohibition as would so enhance its price as to compel planters to resort to free labour as the cheaper method of cultivating their crops; subsequent events have proved (what might have been demonstrated *à priori*) the fallacy of the supposition. In 1790 the number of slaves in the States was 697,897; in 1820, 1,538,064; and at the present time, 4,165,000.

Down to the period of the convention of 1789 the planters of the southern States had been engaged principally in the cultivation of rice and indigo, then the best-paying growths; but the profits of the trade were lessening yearly in consequence of the competition of India, then beginning to be felt. The cotton plant, now the great staple of southern agriculture, was then only cultivated to a limited extent; the process of cleaning the fibre being so slow and

* Address illustrative of the Nature and Power of the Slave States, and the Duties of the Free States. Delivered at Lurney, Massachusetts, June 5th, 1856.

expensive as to render the production of the plant, on a large scale, impossible ; for notwithstanding the increased demand for cotton from England, consequent upon the then recent great improvements in the machinery for spinning, the exports from the United States in 1793 only amounted to 187,000 lbs. ; whilst the imports into England from the West Indies, Turkey, India, &c., during the previous year, reached upwards of 30,000,000 lbs. The invention of the saw-gin by Eli Whitney, however, in the year named, introduced a new order of things. By the primitive rollers, one hand could clean only a few pounds of wool daily ; but by means of the new gin three to four hundred pounds could be turned out in the same space of time. The effect of Whitney's ingenuity was instantaneous : the exports of cotton during 1794—that is, one year after the invention—being 1,601,760 lbs. against only 187,000 lbs. in 1793 ! In 1800 the shipments were 17,789,800 lbs., and in 1806 nearly one-half of the cotton imported into Great Britain was the produce of the United States ! No wonder, therefore, that the slave trade increased in activity, and that the slaveholders grew more unmanageable, and sought with such vigour to augment the extent of their territory, and thereby increase the weight of their influence on the Congress and Senate of the Union. These facts will enable the reader the better to understand the course which events took subsequently to the passage of the Louisiana Bill.

In 1812 the first portion of the newly-acquired territory was admitted into the confederation as a State, with the name of Louisiana. The inhabitants were guaranteed all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the dominion of the French, among which privileges the institution of slavery was numbered. The State being the most southern portion of the territory, and thus a sufficient distance from the free States, the northern representatives offered no opposition to the passage of the bill of incorporation.

In 1818 the inhabitants of Missouri (another portion of the Louisiana estates) presented their petition to Congress for admission into the Union on equal terms with citizens of Louisiana. The abolitionists now began to be alarmed at the great and rapid strides which slavery was making, and resolved, if possible, to prevent its further extension. Pity that the discovery had not been made sooner ! The admission of Missouri with a slave constitution was therefore strongly opposed by the representatives of the free States. After a considerable amount of time had been spent in debating the terms of the constitution, the anti-slavery party moved the following amendment thereon in March 1819 :

'And provided that the introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party has been duly convicted ; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years.'

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This movement drew down the fiercest denunciations from the South. All manner of things were threatened, from the personal castigation of particular representatives, to the dissolution of the Union. ‘Twice the House of Representatives voted the exclusion of slaves from the new State. Thrice the Senate, which assumes to be the conservative portion of the American legislature, and, like its brethren in Europe, is patron of every old prejudice and abuse, voted their admission.’ The war of words was at last brought to a close by the acceptance of a compromise, which a few of the members had concocted. The proposition was made by Mr. Thomas, but Henry Clay is said to have been the originator of it. The following is the famed provision, since known as the ‘Missouri compromise:’—

‘And be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby for ever prohibited.’

By this compromise it was supposed that the question of slavery would have been settled at once and for ever.

It has already been noticed that the extraordinary increase in the consumption of cotton in England had considerably enhanced the value of the field hands of the South. In 1820 the total exports of the staple from the United States reached 127,800,000 lbs., and was valued at 22,309,000 dollars, one-half, if not two-thirds of which was clear profit to the planters. Hence the firm stand which the slaveholders made during the Missouri troubles; indeed, it may be said that the compromise was no compromise as far as they were concerned, since the cotton plant cannot be cultivated with success above the line $36^{\circ} 30'$.

The territory of Arkansas, intermediate between Louisiana and Missouri, was received without any particular demonstration into the Union as a State in 1836. The admission of Florida, acquired from Spain in 1821, took place likewise without provoking any great interest.

The South was thus gradually becoming more and more powerful, and the institution of slavery more widely spread; but notwithstanding the progress already made, the slaveholders were far from being satisfied. The continued increasing demand for cotton stimulated their appetites for more territory, not only to prevent the too rapid concentration of the slave population, but to acquire fresh lands to replace the plantations which had been so impoverished by excessive cultivation that they were scarcely half as productive as formerly.

Having by the annexation of Florida absorbed the whole of the country on the Atlantic coast, the attention of the southerners was now

now turned towards the west. Indeed, during the negotiations with Spain respecting Florida, the American government had advanced a claim to the Mexican State of Texas, but abandoned it as one of the conditions of the cession of Florida. When the people of Mexico, however, had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Spanish rule, the aggrandizing propensities of the Americans raised once more the spirit of covetousness. The usual preliminaries of spoliation were at once commenced: crowds of unscrupulous adventurers flocked into the unoffending country, and by their overbearing conduct soon so irritated the native government as to bring about the war which finally resulted in the triumph of the 'filibusters,' and the expulsion of the Mexican authorities.

Before Texas had fallen into the hands of the United States slavery had been expelled the country. The new masters, however, though boasting a superior civilization, and a purer religion, speedily reintroduced the barbaric institution. Great opposition was made to the admission of the State into the confederation. The advocates of freedom deluged the Congress with adverse petitions; Daniel Webster and others denounced the whole proceeding as a crime of such magnitude as to be without precedent in modern history; every one saw that the acquisition of a district large enough for half a dozen States would give to the slave-holders a dangerous preponderance in the council of the nation. But southern interests prevailed, and Texas was duly received into the Union in 1845.

Subsequently to this date a difference of opinion arose between the American and Mexican governments as to the precise geographical boundaries of the new State. The dispute brought on another war. The Mexicans, as might be expected, were defeated, and the Americans, in addition to gaining their point in respect of the boundaries of Texas, became masters by purchase of the whole country through to the Pacific.

At the close of the war the government introduced a Bill in Congress applying for powers to raise funds wherewith to clear off the obligations to Mexico. This brought on a discussion on the question, whether the new acquisitions—denominated California, New Mexico, and Utah—were to be governed by slave or free constitutions. The anti-slavery party endeavoured to procure the passage of a motion excluding the 'institution' from the territories, but were unsuccessful.

In 1847 the district of Oregon was organized as a free territory, but not without opposition: for though, by its geographical position, it had been guaranteed to freedom by the ordinance of 1787, the slaveholders had the audacity to endeavour to introduce their odious institution into its constitution; and, failing this, attempted

attempted to extend the Missouri line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ to the Pacific. Had they succeeded in the latter matter it would have profited them little, since the State of California in 1850 made choice of free institutions.

In the year just named the discussions on the organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah were renewed. Things assumed a very awkward aspect: North and South were pretty nearly equal in strength of forces, and were both determined not to give way. The issue would doubtless have been serious had not the ingenuity of Clay bolstered matters up by a new compromise. In this measure there were several old disputes settled, besides the matter under discussion. Clay's proposition was, that the new territories should be organized on the basis of what was facetiously called 'squatter sovereignty,' that is, that the settlers or 'squatters' be allowed to choose their own constitutions. This was the concession of the South. The free States, on their part, accepted the fugitive slave cause, by which they bound themselves under heavy penalties to deliver up all runaways from the slave States.

The passage of this bill, obtained as it was by the assistance of the votes of northern representatives, who had cast their influence into the scale of slavery in violation of their previously professed principles, roused the ire of the anti-slavery party, who, in defiance of the law, expressed their indignation in mass-meetings convened throughout the free States. But without doubt, the individual, who, more than any other, contributed to render the fugitive slave-law what it now is—a dead letter—was Mrs. Stowe, by means of her admirable novel 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' The friends of freedom saw clearly that the slave-party had gained a complete victory, for, by the recognition of 'squatter sovereignty' the Congress had practically repealed the Missouri compromise. This was made painfully apparent by the occurrences which followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill for organizing those territories on the same basis as those of New Mexico and Utah. This event took place in 1854.

For several years previously the tide of emigration had been turned towards Kansas, and it seemed very probable that the district, in process of time, would be incorporated as a free State of the Union. But this the southerners were determined, if possible, to prevent, for which purpose they employed the most disgraceful and unconstitutional means. Had the free settlers been allowed to choose their own delegate to Congress, a man of anti-slavery principles would have been fixed upon; but as soon as the day of election had been appointed, a pro-slavery candidate was put into nomination by the slaveholders of the neighbouring State of Missouri, and his return was secured by the votes of a band of paid

paid ruffians from out the said State. This brought the two parties into mortal conflict. The only way of retrieving their position now left to the settlers was the securing of an anti-slavery legislature. To give the reader an idea of the kind of individuals employed by the southerners to do their unholy work, we will quote a description of them given by Mr. Phillips:—

‘ Most of them have been over the plains several times; if they have not been over the plains the probability is, they have served through the war in Mexico, or seen “a deal of trouble in Texas,” or at least run up and down the Missouri river often enough to catch imitative inspiration from the cat-fish aristocracy. I have often wondered where all the hard customers on the Missouri frontier came from. They seem to have congregated here by some law of gravity unexplainable. Perhaps the *easy* exercise of judicial authority in frontier States may explain their fancy for them. Amongst these worthies, a man is estimated by the amount of whisky he can drink; and if he is so indiscreet as to admit he “drinks no liquor,” he is put down as a dangerous character, and shunned accordingly. Imagine a fellow, tall, slim, but athletic, with yellow complexion, hairy-faced, with a dirty flannel shirt, red, or blue, or green, a pair of commonplace, but dark-coloured pants, tucked into an uncertain altitude by a leather belt, in which a dirty-handled bowie knife is stuck rather ostentatiously, an eye slightly whisky red, and teeth the colour of a walnut. Such is your border ruffian of the lowest type. His body might be a compound of gutta-percha, Johnny-cake, and badly-smoked bacon; his spirit, the *refined* part, old Bourbon “double rectified;” but there is every shade of border ruffian. Your judicial ruffian, for instance, is a gentleman; that is, as much of a gentleman as he can be without transgressing on his more purely legitimate character of border ruffian. As “occasional imbibing” is not a sin, his character at home is irreproachable; and when he goes abroad into the territory, for instance, he does not *commit* any act of outrage, or vote himself, but after “aiding and comforting” those who do, returns, feeling every inch a *gentleman*. Then there are your less conservative border ruffian *gentlemen*. They are not so nice in distinctions, and, so far from objecting, rather like to take a hand themselves; but they dress like gentlemen, and are so after a fashion. Between these and the first-mentioned large class, there is every shade and variety; but it takes the whole of them to make an effective brigade; and then it is not perfect without a barrel of whisky. The two *gentlemanly* classes of ruffians are so for political effect, or because they fancy it is their interest. The lower class are pro-slavery ruffians, merely because it is the prevalent kind of rascality; the inference is that they would engage in any other affair in which an equal amount of whisky might be drunk, or as great an aggregate of rascality be perpetrated.’*

Such is a sketch of the scoundrels against whom the peaceful citizens of Kansas had now to do battle for their liberty.

The 30th March, 1855, was the day appointed by the territorial government on which the settlers were to choose a legislature. By a census which was taken, the number of inhabitants was ascertained to be 8,501 souls, out of which 2,905 were entitled to vote.

‘ As the great day approached, parties of Missourians entered the territory, and planted themselves at every polling-place, with the avowed design of voting for candidates who would make Kansas a slave State. As many as 5,000 of these desperadoes, equipped with arms, and bringing tents and provisions, thus took their ground, resolved to commit a grossly illegal act, by representing themselves as actual inhabitants of the territory.’†

After the election was over it was found that 6,218 votes had been

* ‘The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and her Allies.’ By W. Phillips. Boston, 1856.

† Chambers.

polled!

polled ! out of which 4,908 were illegal ! Out of the total number of representatives elected, eleven were refused certificates by the provisional governor. A new election took place two months later than the above date, to fill up the vacancies ; but the actual result did not alter the position of affairs, for the pro-slavery ruffians had still the advantage, and the upshot was the formation of a constitution in accordance with their views. This precious cabal was nicknamed the 'Bogus Legislature,' and had not long been in existence before it came into collision with the territorial governor. Its proceedings were entirely repudiated by the legitimate settlers of the territory, who set to work and formed a rival government, afterwards known as the 'Topeke Legislature :' the proceeding, however, was not tolerated by Congress, and an end was put to its existence, by force, in 1856. Things were still in a disorganized state when a new convention held at Lecompton in Nov. 1857, framed what has been since known as the 'Lecompton Constitution.' This constitution was a sort of compromise between the 'Bogus' and 'Topeke' Legislatures : but was disliked by the Kansans, because of its pro-slavery character. After considerable debating, the Congress, in April 1858, decided that the State should be admitted into the Union, and be at liberty either to accept or reject the 'Lecompton Constitution.' The constitution *was* rejected, and one in conformity with the will of the people is now under consideration at Washington. Three months ago the Territorial Legislature passed the Bill abolishing slavery, but the measure was vetoed by the Governor. The act, however, was repassed in February last by a vote of 30 to 7. It is pretty certain, therefore, that Kansas will be admitted into the Union as a free State—probably this year ; and there seems every likelihood of Nebraska following its example, notwithstanding that the governor in January last vetoed a bill passed by the legislature for the abolition of slavery in the territory. Missouri will then be enclosed on three sides by the free States of Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas, and must soon succumb to the surrounding influences.

The foregoing review shows the career of slavery, so far, to have been a most successful one ; but the friends of freedom have latterly been somewhat more united, and it is possible that the South may soon find itself overmatched. The loss of Kansas was a severe blow to the supremacy of the slaveholders, and the defeat of their candidate for the speakership in February last was an event that showed the growing strength of the Republican party and the probability of an anti-slavery president being elected this year.

People on this side of the Atlantic are astonished that the slave States should have so long held the reins of power, seeing that they compose only *one-third* of the free population of the Union,

Union, and possess only 90 representatives in Congress against 143 members sent by the North. But the ascendancy of slavedom is not difficult of explanation.

One element of the political power of the south is found in the peculiar social organism of the slave States. Nominally, the whole Union is democratic, really, the southern portion of it is aristocratic. In the North the citizens are the rulers; in the South the people are the servants. In the North the government is led by the masses; in the South the masses are led by the government. In the North there is no division of classes, properly so called; in the South society is dual—patrician and plebeian (irrespective of the slaves).

‘The South,’ says Mr. Stirling, ‘is to all intents and purposes an Aristocracy, nay, an Oligarchy; for, in addition to aristocratic feeling, there is also an anti-democratic inequality of fortune. This is best seen by the holdings of slaves, the chief form of southern property. The whole slaveholders in the States, in 1850, amounted only to 347,525, and of this number only 92,257 own ten slaves and upwards. Here, then, we have the essence of an Oligarchy; a fraction of the population monopolizing the principal property of the community. The politics of the country are quite in keeping with this state of matters. The South is ruled by its leaders; the poor of the community, the “white trash,” go with their lords.’

Another source of southern success is the clever party manœuvring of its politicians. The number of political factions in the Union is legion; but for all practical purposes, and leaving out the aristocracy of the south, they may be reduced to two—Democratic and Republican. The democratic party has adherents in both the free and slave States. Its leading doctrine is the sovereignty of the separate States, and its great object the limiting of the federal power. According to democratic principles, each state or territory has the right to form its own constitution and social usages irrespective of the effect such constitution or social usages may have upon the general welfare of the Union. Hence the doctrine of ‘squatter sovereignty,’ as applied to all new territories, is a part of the political creed of all true Democrats. The federal government, they say, has no right to interfere in the management of the internal affairs of the territories, which, in plain English, means that Congress has no constitutional power to prevent the introduction of slavery into the common property of the Union. The Republicans, on the other hand, assert the reverse of the Democrats, and maintain the right of Congress to legislate for the government of the territories, and to determine, independently of the choice of the settlers, whether such territories shall be cultivated by free or slave labour. For obvious reasons, therefore, the whole of the southern States, though aristocratic at home, are ultra-democratic at Washington, and by every means strive to prevent the progress of Republican ideas. For should the Republican party obtain the ascendancy the further extension of slave territory would be impossible. The last great struggle of the two sections took place at the election of president in 1856. The slave

slave Oligarchy was conscious of its own inability of electing a president after its own heart, and therefore allied itself to the democratic mobs of the North, and by that means defeated the Republican candidate. Here, then, we have northern democrats and southern aristocrats joined together each for the accomplishment of selfish ends. The slaveholders have no sympathy for democracy proper, for they do not tolerate it in their own States. The plebeians of the north have no love for slavery, and would not permit its existence in their own States, but they dread the existence of a strong central government, and consequently seek to deprive it of everything but the name.

'The aristocrats of the South,' says Mr. Stirling, 'have been for some time aware that it is only through the agency of the ignorant democracy of both sections of the empire that they can carry out their objects with regard to slavery. Hence they adhere steadfastly to this party, some of them conscientiously, in accordance with their State-rights prepossessions, and others, I believe, simply from interested views with regard to slavery. It must be humbling, we should think, for the educated and refined patricians of the South to let themselves be dragged through the dirt of democratic politics for a shabby pecuniary purpose; but what will not men do when they consider their interests to be at stake?'

The same author describes the Democrats of the north as being composed chiefly of the *canaille* of the large cities.

'Irish Repealers are the natural enemies of all governments; they will always be found, therefore, on that side which is said to be the most hostile to law and lawgivers; and such they account the Democratic party.' 'Interest determines the Southern Democracy, Ignorance leads the Democracy of the North.'

In addition to the assistance derived from this mobocracy, the South receives a large share of support from the protectionist party of the North: the South in return, though against its real and professed interests, voting for protection.

'Northern men,' says Mr. Chambers, 'seek to conciliate the South for the sake of selfish interests. The doctrine that high protective duties are an essential element of national prosperity, though long since exploded by political economists, is still current in the northern States of the Union. Doubtless it is only through the efficacy of such protective duties as 30 per cent. that certain northern manufacturers can keep open their establishments; and we may assume that if these restrictions were removed, much misdirected capital would flow into more natural channels, and produce results more advantageous to all parties. Northern manufacturers, however, being the immediate gainers by so preposterous a system of protection, cling as closely to the privilege of taxing the community as ever did the landowners of Great Britain by their restrictions on the free import of food. Such prepossessions could meet with no response in the south, but for the necessity of buying party support. All the clothing, shoes, hats, and other articles required on southern plantations are imported coastwise from northern manufacturers; so that, in reality, the south taxes itself in an enormous sum annually, in purchasing dear northern goods.' 'The case then stands thus: the South pretends to be democratic, to gain northern votes, and the North itself for southern money. Or, to come to the subject in hand—the South votes for protection, and the North, in return, votes for slavery.' 'Free America,' says Dr. Mackay, 'is ultra-protectionist, and slave America is strongly in favour of the widest freedom of trade. The free States are alarmed at the increase of British manufactures, whilst the slave States are not only not alarmed but gratified, and desire to profit by British industry to the furthest possible extent, in the cheapening of clothes for themselves and their slaves, and of all articles of domestic use and luxury, which Great Britain can supply better and more cheaply than the manufacturer of the North.'

Again,

Again, the southern party is indebted to some extent for its present influential position to the Doughfaces of the free States (the peace-at-any-price party), who barter their birthright and vote for slave measures for the sake of quietness, and to whom the threat of disunion is something so terrible as to deprive them of all faith in the principles of truth and equity.

And last, though not least, the three-fifths calculation of the slaves, entitles the south to no less than to thirty congressional representatives! Four millions of slaves send up to Washington thirty men to secure the passage of laws concocted by their enemies to rivet their chains and increase their sufferings!

Such, then, are the means by which the Oligarchy of slavedom has been enabled to appropriate to itself the lion's share of federal power and patronage. The opinion, however, is gaining ground that the South has arrived at the summit of its ascendancy ; hence-forward, it is said, its influence will be gradually curtailed. Already there are symptoms of decadence. The great republican party of the North is yearly growing in strength and numbers. At the last presidential election, though only a new organization and minus the prestige of the old political parties, it succeeded in polling thirty-eight per cent. of the federal vote. But since then it has assumed a decided character, and is in great favour with the people of the free States. It is possible, therefore, that the result of the presidential election of the present year may be the defeat of the Democratic candidate. So general is this opinion, that the slaveholders themselves have imbibed it ; and in order to secure their safety in power, and the integrity of their peculiar institution, have adopted the most extreme measures for the accomplishment of their object. They are fully aware that the success of Republican notions would raise the hopes of the negroes, and perhaps precipitate a revolt. To prevent this latter eventuality, they, not content with prohibiting individual or general emancipation, have passed laws for the expulsion of all *free* negroes, and for the exclusion of all free opinions from their dominions.

In March 1859 the Arkansas legislature passed a bill for the expatriation of free coloured persons from that State. The following is a summary of the measure from the 'Little Rock Gazette' newspaper—

'They have until January 1860 to dispose of their property, and make other arrangements for leaving. If they do not go then, it is made the duty of sheriffs to seize them and hire them out to the highest bidder for one year, giving them the net proceeds of their labour to enable them to leave the State. The bill provides that such free negroes as desire to remain may choose masters—the County Court having them appraised, and the master or mistress they have chosen paying half their value into the common school fund of the county.'

The government have taken care that the measure should not become

become a dead letter, as will be seen from the following quotation from the 'Times' of 21st of January last:—

' Forty free negroes, who have been expelled from Arkansas under the terms of the recent legislative enactment, which prescribed that in the event of their non-departure they should be sold into slavery, arrived at Cincinnati on the 3rd inst., in a destitute condition. They were met by a committee appointed for the purpose by the coloured population of Cincinnati. It was reported that the upward-bound boats on the Mississippi river were crowded with these fugitives, flying from their homes. A meeting had been held in Cincinnati to devise means of aiding the twelve families expelled from Kentucky in consequence of anti-slavery views.'

A similar measure passed the legislature of Missouri on the 11th January this year. The following summary of its provisions is from the 'New York Tribune':—

' The 1st Section prohibits the emancipation of a slave, unless the master gives bond, with sureties, to remove the slave out of the State within ninety days.

' Sec. 3. dooms to slavery every free negro who shall be a resident of the State after September, 1860, and over eighteen years of age.

' Sec. 4. requires the sheriff to bring every such negro before a magistrate, who, on proof of his freedom, gives the sheriff a certificate, who thereupon must proceed to sell the free negro at auction.

' Sec. 5. The purchaser to have the same rights to the negro as if he had always been a slave.

' Sec. 7. The proceeds to be paid into the county treasury.

' Sec. 8. The sheriff to notify free negroes before September, 1860, of the act.

' Sec. 9. Free negroes under eighteen, after September, 1860, to be bound out as apprentices until twenty-one, by the county court, and allowed twelve months after that time to leave the State.

' Sec. 11. Should such free negro be found in the State after that time, he shall be sold as provided in Section 4.

' Sec. 15. punishes the officer who neglects his duty.

' Sec. 17. Any free negro who comes into the State, and remains in it twelve hours, is subject to be sold as a slave.'

The slave party in Maryland have petitioned their legislature to pass a similar law. The following is extracted from their memorial, a reprint of which appeared in the 'Times' of January 19th:—

' It is useless to disguise the fact that slavery and free negroism cannot much longer exist side by side in this State. One or the other must give way. Many slaveholders in this State are anxiously awaiting the action of your body, and if nothing is done to secure their property they will take it further south, and leave Maryland a free negro State. The abolition of free negroism is essential to the security of slave property, as well as the rights of our labouring white population.

' No more parleying, no more timid and compromising legislation will meet the issue of this question. If the State would preserve her integrity as a loyal ally of the South—if she would remove the horrors of house-burnings, poisoning, and servile strife in her own bosom—she will abolish free negroism throughout her borders at the earliest possible period.

' We therefore pray your honourable body to pass laws enslaving our free negroes for life to our own citizens, to be accompanied by an exemption from sale under execution for debt.

' We also pray that a strong military police for each election district in the State may be appointed to execute and enforce all laws upon this subject and the slave laws of this State; also that a universal pass system may be adopted. Various other essential provisions germane to this subject will naturally suggest themselves to the wisdom of your body.

' For all of which your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.'

In South Carolina the government has not yet taken up the cause, but the following presentment was made by the grand jury of one of the districts, in the spring term of last year—

'Presentment of the grand jury, at Spring term, 1859.—We further present the free negroes of the district as a nuisance, and recommend that the legislature pass some law that will have the effect of relieving the community of this troublesome population.'

The 'Cherau Gazette,' in commenting upon the foregoing, remarked—

'We are pleased at this act of the grand jury, and hope other grand juries will follow the example, and thus impress the matter upon our law-makers until they shall be forced to abate the nuisance.'

The Louisiana legislature has recently refused to pass the extreme measure, but the following law came into force in September last—

'All free persons of colour, arriving in port from abroad, must immediately be lodged in gaol, and remain there until the departure of the boat or vessel on which they came; masters of steamboats and ships must report to the chief of police all such persons belonging to their crews, or passengers, or incur severe penalties. It will be well for all masters of vessels and steamboats trading with this State to bear in mind the provisions of this law, as it will save them from much trouble, and perhaps pecuniary loss. The evils attending the increase of a free negro population, and more particularly the intercourse of free persons of colour from abroad with our slaves, caused the passage of this stringent law.'

The proceedings of the rest of the slave States do not vary greatly from the above. But independently of the high-handed conduct manifested towards the free negroes, the white inhabitants, and all travellers from the North, are subjected to a system of espionage which has no parallel in the most despotic countries on the continent of Europe. All discussion is interdicted, and the man who dares to express his antipathy of slavery, is soon in receipt of a castigation from the mobs of 'white trash' in the pay of the planters. In the higher classes of society, the question of freedom if introduced by some visiting friend, is quietly got rid of by changing the topic of conversation. The following extract from the democratic 'New York Herald,' of January 4th, this year, will give the reader an idea of the state of things in the slave States.

'We are daily receiving information, from public and private sources, which shows that a reign of terror is approaching in this country pregnant with the most disastrous results to both North and South. Travellers from the northern sections of the Union are not only looked upon with suspicion in the southern States, but in many sections of that region they are stopped in their travels and obliged to give a satisfactory account of themselves and their business. If they have not some local acquaintance who can vouch for them, they are followed through all their in-goings and out-comings, and not unfrequently find themselves face to face with a vigilance committee, charged with the preservation of public order and the expurgation of the community from northern Abolitionists. This is particularly the case with the travelling agents of northern manufacturers and merchants, who, in consequence of the prevailing excitement, are looked upon with great suspicion. There are numerous concerns in this portion of the country which have sent out agents, and made great preparations to meet their orders from the South for goods, who already find themselves in pecuniary embarrassment, from the fact that their agents, instead of sending home orders for goods, write the most doleful letters in regard to their business prospects. Thus, the commercial

commercial connections between the north and the south are being gradually severed, under the growing influence of the terror that northern agents of the abolitionized black republican party are busily fomenting a servile war in the south, and every southern man feels that it is not slavery alone, but the lives of himself and his loved wife and children, that are involved. Our black republican contemporaries have been raising a lamentable hue and cry over the recent lynching of one James Power, at Columbia, South Carolina. Power is a native of Ireland, a stonemason, and, with a number of other men of his trade, of different nationalities, was employed in the construction of the new State House at Columbia, when the pro-slavery committee of vigilance of the said town got wind of some remarks of Power of an abolition character. The results were, an unsuccessful attempt of Power to escape, his capture, the infliction of twenty-nine lashes upon his bare back, after which he was served with a coat of tar and feather, and in this condition was sent down by railroad to Charleston, where he was conducted to prison, and thence, after a confinement of several days, shipped to New York. Twelve families have been obliged to fly from Madison County.

We have not space to spare for further extracts, but the following paragraph from the 'Star' of January 28th tells of a system of surveillance which puts the proceedings of the post-office officials at Paris into the shade.

'Slavery Question and Interception of Letters and Papers.'—Newspapers from this country to the United States, being, we understand, under post-office surveillance in that country, in consequence of the slavery excitement at present existing there, it would be well that parties in transmitting letters to their friends, of marked name in the anti-slavery movement, should take precaution that their letters be received.'

Now in all this the slaveholders are undoubtedly doing themselves and their cause infinite mischief. Their conduct towards the white population will increase the number of their enemies, and decrease the number of their friends; and the severity exhibited towards the slaves and free negroes will have but one effect, viz., resistance. Though old Brown's Harper's Ferry expedition failed, the attempt will be renewed next time, on a larger scale. The negroes are only waiting for an opportunity to rise *en masse*. Would it not, therefore, be better for the slaveholders to make for themselves some way of escape? and instead of adding fuel to the combustible pile, seek for some means whereby a general conflagration may be prevented? That something must be done, and that before long, is certain. The number of slaves in the Union in 1850 was 3,200,000; for the previous twenty years the ratio of increase was about three per cent. per annum: at the same rate of progress the slaves now number 4,165,000, and for the following periods will be, in round numbers, as follows; 1870, 5,410,000; 1880, 7,040,000; 1890, 9,150,000; 1900, 12,000,000! Of these three-fourths will be concentrated in seven out of the fourteen slave States. If with 4,165,000 in 1860 it be found so difficult to keep down rebellion, what will be the state of affairs in twenty years from this, when there will be 7,040,000 (to say nothing of the 12,000,000 in twenty years later), and when intelligence, spite of all precaution, will be more widely diffused amongst the negroes than is the case now?

ART. VI.—1. *Portrait Gallery.* June 1849. Dublin.
 2. *MS. Notes of Recollections of Father Mathew,* by Dowden Richard, Esq. Cork.
 3. *The Newspaper Press,* 1839 to 1857.

IN a poor and neglected neighbourhood, where poverty and wretchedness abound, called Blackamoor Lane, in the city of Cork, there is a small Capuchin friary: a plain building, though fitted up with some taste, and known, after the name of its builder, as 'O'Leary's Chapel.' More than forty years since, a young Capuchin of handsome person, courteous manners, and earnest zeal joined the mission attached to this chapel. He speedily became popular. His natural refinement rendered him acceptable to the wealthy and educated, while his sympathetic kindness and judicious firmness endeared him to the humbler portion of his fellow-citizens. His influence rapidly increased, and no priest of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was more sought after for religious assistance or consolation. The characteristic of his mind was devotion rather than superstition; and the individuality and original force of his character enabled him to acquire a moral ascendancy over those who sought his aid or advice, as remarkable as it was useful. He was a sincere Catholic, but without bigotry; he was a true Christian—a Catholic of the school of Fénelon rather than of Bossuet.

The movement which originated in Preston in 1833 in favour of entire abstinence from *all* intoxicating liquors as the only cure for drunkenness soon spread to Ireland, and the pledge of 'total abstinence' was taken by a few members of the Society of Friends in Cork. There, as elsewhere, the 'anti-whisky,' anti-spirits, and 'moderation' pledges had been tried and had failed. Amid sneers and derision, Mr. William Martin, Mr. Dowden Richard, and a few others held weekly meetings in Cork, with but indifferent success, until, by means of deputations and personal solicitation, they enlisted the interest of the popular Capuchin friar.

We may suppose ourselves, on the 10th April 1838, at a small meeting of friends in the city of Cork. A respected priest rises, and, addressing those present, says: 'Gentlemen, I hope you will aid and give me such information as may be necessary for the formation of a new Total Abstinence Society; and then, taking the pen in hand, pausing, and saying these remarkable words, 'If only one poor soul can be rescued from intemperance and destruction it will be doing a noble act and adding to the glory of God: here goes in the name of the Lord,' he signs his name, 'The Very Rev. Theobald Mathew, C.C., Cove Street, No. 1.' On the same evening he is elected president of the new society, and we hear him

him commence the advocacy of temperance in an old schoolroom in Blackamoor Lane. We think him well meaning, but a little fanatical, and we smile at the notion that his ascetic doctrine can ever become powerful or popular.

* * * We are in the city of Limerick. It is the 2nd of Dec. 1839. As we entered the city we were astonished at the dense crowds extending for two miles along the road, and now we find the streets absolutely impassable from the masses which throng them. We are told that accommodation for the night cannot be obtained at any cost, that the public buildings have all been thrown open, and that with every effort more than 5,000 persons must lie in the street. We endeavour to obtain refreshment, and find that a penny loaf has risen in price to threepence, and that we cannot purchase a quart of milk for less than sixpence. At last, weary and foot-sore, we are compelled to be content to pay two shillings each for liberty to stand in a crowded cellar so as to escape the inclemency of the December night. Our amazement is redoubled when, in answer to our inquiries, we learn that this ingathering of all the tribes arises simply from the fact that Father Mathew is expected to visit Limerick on the morrow, for the purpose of administering the temperance pledge to the people. We remember the little room in Cork, and we stand abashed at the recognition of the fact that the despised fanaticism has become a national regeneration. The grain of mustard seed has grown into a mighty tree.

It is the 7th December, and we cannot leave the city. The crowds pouring in prevent egress. We are carried with the pressure along one of the streets; and over the heads of the people we are able to distinguish on the steps of a house, a simple priest, the cause of all this excitement. After four days' incessant exertion his voice is gone, but he is administering the pledge to the enthusiastic multitude. What a sight! Twenty thousand persons simultaneously kneel, and with tears and sobs declare themselves resolved to abandon the tempting drink and lead amended lives.

We are lifted from our feet, and as we are helplessly borne along, we see mounted soldiers in attendance to preserve order, in like manner carried away: at last, having succeeded in extricating ourselves, we hear that the pressure has been so great as to break down the iron railings and precipitate the crowd into the Shannon, happily without serious results; and we further ascertain that while we have been in Limerick at least 150,000 persons have taken the pledge.

* * * There is no limit to the power of the imagination, and we may now, therefore, fancy ourselves seated, in the year 1845, quietly in our study, with a pile of papers before us consisting of parliamentary returns and copies of the public journals. We have heard, during the past six years, that the scene at which we were

accidentally present in Limerick was repeated in various parts of the country, but until now we have not cared to inquire further of the matter. Now, however, our eye is caught by a statement in a Waterford newspaper of 1839, which informs us that only five prisoners were on the assize calendar for that year, although in the previous year's list there had been 159. Turning over the newspapers still further, we gather that in 1839, 3,202 persons were confined in Richmond Bridewell, Dublin, while in 1840 they numbered 2,108, and in 1841 only 1,604. The same source, after a little troublesome search, affords the information that in 1838 the Dublin Savings Bank numbered 7,264 depositors, but increased to 9,585 in 1841.

Turning to the criminal and assize reports which form so large a proportion of the news of the journals, we read words spoken by Justice Burton at Down Assizes in 1842, and corroborated by Baron Pennefather at Meath, congratulating the grand jury on the absence of crime, 'evidently the effect of temperance.' And we are not surprised that the judges should congratulate the magistracy, when we learn that at Cork, during the eight months intervening between the Autumn assizes of 1844 and the Spring of 1845 only one prisoner had been committed for trial.

Unable, even yet, to comprehend the vast change in national habit and character, we turn to our parliamentary blue books, and the only explanation we can find, is contained in returns moved for by Sir R. Ferguson, which tell us that in 1838 the consumption of whisky in Ireland was twelve and a quarter millions of gallons, while in 1841 it was only six and a half millions; and that within two years there had been a decrease in the revenue from spirits of at least half a million pounds sterling.

* * * And now, in 1860, we seek for traces of the mighty influence wielded by Father Mathew and we find but few. Enthusiasm has cooled, temptation has proved stronger than principle, and with the exception of some few spots which the untiring efforts of a few earnest and devoted men have saved, the whole country is again flooded by intemperance. Father Mathew is dead, without a memorial, without a memoir.

It is certainly strange that none of the able and sympathetic men who were associated with Father Mathew in his great enterprise have preserved, or have collected and given to the public a sufficient biography of the great Irish patriot. No man's life was better worth writing; no man had friends more capable for the task. It may be that the self-abandonment of the man during his life has fixed public attention less on himself than on his work. The individuality of the hero of social and moral conquests, even more than of him who has struggled for liberty in the field or the senate, sinks in his public triumphs. What he has produced, is

his living history ; what he individually was, is of less general concern. Nevertheless, when a man without patronage, power, or remarkable position can seize on the public mind, hold it, and control it, in spite of hostile habits, prejudices, and appetites, he must be something and somebody. Father Mathew did this, though nothing but an unpretending, unobtrusive, quiet priest.

Theobald Mathew was born at Thomastown, near Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, on the 10th Oct. 1790. His father, when a child, had been taken under the patronage of the well-known Major-General Montagu Mathew, brother of the Earl of Llandaff. Theobald was the only one of his family destined for the church—he, at the death of his parents, being adopted by the Lady Elizabeth Mathew, and placed under the tuition of the Rev. Denis O'Donnel, parish priest of Tullagh, Waterford. His brothers followed commerce, two, singularly enough, becoming distillers at Cashel, and a third, Charles (still, we believe, living), acquiring a handsome fortune by mercantile operations in Cork.

Theobald's education was completed at the lay academy of Kilkenny and the clerical establishment of Maynooth. He was ordained in Dublin in 1814, having previously become a Capuchin friar, and was shortly appointed to Cork.

Theobald Mathew at once entered on his sacred duties with an energy and devotion which were remarkable. He won the respect and affection of Protestants as well as Catholics. 'The Press,' an English Protestant journal, describes him as possessing a rare amount of virtue. Frank, courteous, benevolent, he was in the highest sense a gentleman ; and his birth and education rendered him the welcome companion of a class, generally indisposed to familiarity with their spiritual teacher. His humble chapel became too small ; he converted large storehouses into schools, and ultimately succeeded in erecting a large church, one of the ornaments of Cork.

But although very possibly this period of his life may present many features of interest to a biographer, its current was too little disturbed by unusual events for extended notice in our hurried sketch. To one only need we allude. In 1832, the cholera was in Cork, and the peculiar benevolence which actuated Father Mathew shone in a most conspicuous light. Night and morning might he be seen abandoning the charms and ease of the refined and educated society to which he might have had access,—penetrating the miserable lanes of the most miserable parish in Cork—that of St. Nicholas—seeking out subjects for the shelter of the hospital, and administering to them physical relief as well as spiritual consolation. His residence was besieged by claimants on his bounty. No one was left unaided ; everything he could command being cheerfully distributed. 'Sir,' said his secretary to him on

one occasion, ‘this is the last shilling we have.’ The reply was characteristic, ‘Give it, and let us trust to God.’

Arising out of these labours was the organization of a lay society, composed of young men of the middle class, for the purpose of visitation among the sick and indigent. As in societies now known as ‘societies of St. Vincent de Paul,’ no vows bound the members; but so successful was the organization, that it received special attention at the hands of the Assistant Commissioners of Poor-Law Inquiry who visited Cork in 1834. Unaided, Father Mathew also provided public interment for the poor during the ravages of the epidemic, and his plan has since expanded into a beautiful and convenient cemetery.

Before Father Mathew had been heard of beyond the city of his labours, several priests had endeavoured to bring to bear the influence of their office in favour of temperance. But they had neither adopted nor enforced the doctrine of ‘total abstinence’ which subsequently formed the basis of Father Mathew’s operations. He himself long hesitated before he accepted that necessity. The ‘moderation’ pledge, and the pledge to abstain from ardent spirits, which had found great favour and high patronage in England, were tried by him without success; and experience gradually convinced him of the truth of the assertions made by the men of Preston, and which were reiterated by a small body of converts in Cork. From 1830, some Protestant ministers, Presbyterian and others, and some members of the Society of Friends, maintained an unsuccessful agitation on behalf of total abstinence in that city. They were either without influence or more probably were repulsed by the people as being antagonistic to the popular faith. It speaks well for the absence of polemical bitterness among them, that the introduction of Father Mathew to the temperance movement was under Protestant auspices. ‘Mr. Mathew,’ said one of them named Olden, ‘you have the mission; do not reject it.’ That call was responded to.

The influence he exerted was immediately felt. Amid evil prophecy and some obloquy, meetings were held twice a week in the horse bazaar at Cork, the schoolroom in Blackamoor Lane having rapidly been found too small to accommodate the growing audiences. Some of the most obdurate drunkards enrolled themselves as members of the Cork Total Abstinence Society, and especially after divine service on the sabbath, vast numbers attended to take the pledge. Among the staff of advocates from whom Father Mathew derived valuable assistance were two members of the Irish bar, Mr. Walsh and Mr. J. F. Maguire, both Roman Catholics and of popular politics. The latter gentleman is the owner of an important Catholic journal, the ‘Cork Examiner.’ His support to temperance added much to his popular influence, enabling him to contest

contest Dungarvan in 1847 against a Whig secretary of state. He has sat in Parliament for that borough since 1852.

Between the 10th April, 1838, and the end of the year, 156,000 persons took the pledge in Cork. By this time, however, the fame of these doings had begun to travel along the banks of the Shannon. The rustic population of the south spread abroad the rumour that 'there was virtue in Father Mathew.' First the men of Kilrush came in; then some hundreds from Kerry, and others even from Galway, Clare, and Waterford.

But the great event which first gave to the advance of temperance in Ireland the character of a national movement, occurred on Father Mathew's visit to Limerick, of which we have given a hasty picture at the commencement of this article. It was supposed that most of those desirous of taking the pledge had visited Cork, but it was found to be far otherwise. Scenes such as we have described at Limerick took place in rapid succession at Waterford, Lismore, Ennis, Clonmel, Thurles, Cashel, Templemore, Castlecomer, Borrisokane, Galway, and other places. One only need be further described as an example of many. We take our information from an eye-witness of Father Mathew's visit to Parsonstown. As his coming had been generally announced by the pastor of the parish, there was an immense influx from the surrounding counties. A troop of the 17th Lancers from Athlone, a detachment of the 60th Rifles from Birr, and a large police force were in attendance. On entering the area on which stands the chaste and beautiful chapel, a scene presented itself highly calculated to arouse interest and inspire awe. In front of the chapel was stationed a large body of police, a fine and well-disciplined force; outside these were the Rifles on bended knee, with bayonets fixed and pointed, forming a barrier to oppose the rushing multitudes; whilst within and without this barrier to keep the passages clear, the cavalry, 'in all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war,' moved up and down with slow and measured pace. Beyond, and as far along the streets as the eye could reach, were the congregated masses swaying to and fro with every new impulse, and by their united voices producing a deep indistinct sound like the murmur of the sea.

It could not be expected that so remarkable an enthusiasm would be allowed to exhibit itself without opposition. The press exaggerated its extravagances; and even in some instances (as in the case of an alleged riot at Ennis, which was declared to have occurred in consequence of a fictitious announcement of a meeting) did not hesitate to circulate false reports. But even discarding all hostile criticism, it is impossible, with the advantage of calmness derived from lapse of time, to refuse to acknowledge serious drawbacks to this success. Much of it was mere excitement; more was tainted

tainted with superstition. Numbers believed that the administration of the pledge by Father Mathew possessed a secret charm, and 'miracle' was very early the attraction to the horse bazaar at Cork.

'The prestige in favour of Father Mathew,' says a writer in the 'Dublin Review,' 'arose from the fact of its being observed that those who took the pledge from him were in better health than they had previously been. The ameliorated health was the result of the temperance, but the natural cause was overlooked as is often the case; and as the human mind when undisciplined is prone to superstition, the belief in miraculous operation by the great temperance leader does undoubtedly appear to have spread very widely amongst the lower classes of the Irish community.'

The blind, the halt, the paralytic were brought to Father Mathew, if that they might but touch the hem of his garment.

Any claim to miraculous power was of course repeatedly and publicly disavowed both by Father Mathew and his colleagues; but although the most formidable charge turned against them, it certainly appears to us that it was met with just so much feebleness as to indicate a desire, unacknowledged, and unknown perhaps to themselves, to use even credulity as a means of advancing their benevolent object.

'Mr. Mathew,' said one of his most elaborate defenders at the time, 'is not severe or repulsive. It would not suit the purposes of his extraordinary mission that he should be such. He believes it wiser, and he knows it to be more charitable, to have regard to the humility of the humble, and to abstain from ridiculing the weakness or simplicity of the illiterate. He encourages not their misconceptions, he wishes to dispel them; but in combating a deeply-rooted national evil, he cannot see what irremediable mischief will follow if the people will arm against it those prejudices which arise from credulity rather than malice. * * * The outward forms of past error become the vehicle through which new and vital truths are conveyed. What immense harm, then, can it be if an excessive belief of the people in the power of the priesthood be permitted to operate in extinguishing the besetting sin of our country? * * * It is only, after all, believing *too much* to suppose that any one man does on ordinary occasions perform miracles; and what is there in this that Mr. Mathew is bound fiercely to denounce, especially when the superabundance of the people's faith may tend and does tend to the destruction of a foul and abandoned vice?'

In this early taint of the movement, we conceive may be traced one of the sources of subsequent decay.

But although slightly tainted, the enthusiasm in favour of Father Mathew's mission was not unsound. Many concurring circumstances afford abundant and satisfactory explanation of this assertion. The movement was opportune, new, and decisive. The evil of drunkenness had become absolutely appalling: its misery was felt in every family. The ordinary and old remedies of exhortation and denunciation had been found useless; while the certain and instant cure experienced wherever 'the pledge' had been maintained, carrying with it the immediate blessings of health, and increased material prosperity, may well have appeared all but miraculous. The encouragement of association, and the general tendency

tendency of a people so impulsive as the Irish to allow feeling to govern their actions, would render much of the enthusiasm not only natural but even praiseworthy. Numbers will always attract numbers. Ignorant and excitable men are gregarious.

To the usually large influence possessed by the Roman Catholic priesthood, Father Mathew united a high reputation for devotion to the interests of the people, and the power, in a remarkable way, of attracting the affections of all with whom he came in contact. No other man in Ireland could have been selected so eminently qualified for his work. His mode of conducting the agitation was distinguished by a genial frankness which won all hearts. 'Clear the way for Paddy Hayes,' cried he at Borrisokane, when a noted drunkard was quietly pointed out to him in the crowd; and as the poor fellow staggered forward, with a benign smile he took his hand, saying, 'Come forward, my poor fellow, you were worth waiting for.' Who can doubt that Paddy Hayes' 'God bless you, Father Mathew!' as he fell on his knees, burst into tears, and took the pledge, was re-echoed in thousands of hearts to which a kind word had gone straight as a dart?

But the great secret of Father Mathew's success was his ardent faith in the truth of his cause. The equable and quiet efforts of William Martin and others in Cork had not moved the people. Father Mathew struck a spark from his own heart, and it lighted a flame in every village. No sacrifice was too great for his zeal. His private resources were all cheerfully expended. A distillery was bequeathed to him in Tipperary, worth a considerable sum. He broke it up, and refused a large rent for it. His family were largely engaged in the whisky trade; no such consideration moved him. By self-sacrifice he accomplished results marvellous in themselves, but such as may always be expected by a sincere and faithful worker for the truth. 'May God bless you,' said Father Mathew to all who pledged themselves with him, 'and enable you to keep your promise!' A simple formula, covering much of his success and suggestive of the real source of his power.

In rapid succession Father Mathew travelled into every county in Ireland. At Wexford, New Ross, Cashel, Castle Connell, Meath, and numerous other places, he carried on his work with uninterrupted triumph. In 1840 he visited Maynooth, and pledged seven professors and two hundred priests and students. At Dublin in the same year his labours were so successful, that on the 19th November the 'Freeman's Journal' announced that the Smithfield Penitentiary was closed; the citizens of Dublin being thus relieved from the entire expense of one prison.

Until 1843 Father Mathew remained in Ireland, prosecuting his mission with the general result we have sketched at the commencement of this article. The number he enrolled is almost incredible.

incredible. We have before us, on our desk, while we write, a pledge-card adorned with the really elegant autograph of Theobald Mathew. On the left of the card is represented the horrors of intemperance, on the right the blessings of sobriety. In the centre Father Mathew himself administers the pledge to a group of kneeling recipients. The pledge is as follows: 'I promise, with the Divine assistance, to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, and to prevent as much as possible by advice and example intemperance in others.' The number on this card, in Mr. Mathew's handwriting, is 5,682,623. In his own pithy and congratulatory words, 'he had been enabled by a good Providence to convert an evil boast and glory into a shame and public scandal, and to change what had once been deemed pusillanimity and parsimony into its true figure—a glory, a virtue, an honour.'

Father Mathew's reputation was not confined to his native soil. In 1843, in answer to pressing invitations, he visited England and Scotland, and although, as might have been expected, the demonstrations which followed him were not of the Irish character, he was received with genuine enthusiasm; and especially among his own countrymen and those of his own Church he effected great results. The respect with which his character and motives had inspired all classes, completely overshadowed any prejudice against his profession as a Catholic priest; and while influencing, and even enrolling among his converts members of the Roman Catholic aristocracy, he was treated with marked consideration and kindness by the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other Protestant statesmen. The acknowledgment of the nation was fitly though inadequately paid, when subsequently, Father Mathew's resources having become so thoroughly exhausted as to subject him to arrest for debt, a pension of 300*l.* per annum was granted to him by the Queen on Sir Robert Peel's recommendation. It may here be remarked, that probably more has been said of the ingratitude of the temperance public, and of his countrymen in particular, in allowing the pecuniary embarrassments of Father Mathew, than the truth of the case justifies. Efforts *were* made (but abandoned in consequence of impediments thrown in the way by Father Mathew himself), to which the Duke of Leinster, Lord Cloncurry, Mr. Haughton of Dublin, and others, lent the influence of their names, wealth, and station. A considerable sum was actually subscribed, and remitted to Father Mathew in 1844 and 1845, and as Father Mathew, by the regulations of the order to which he belonged, could not hold property in his own right, a difficulty was experienced at the outset which, irrespective of any personal obstacles, was never surmounted.

After this period there can be little doubt that the traces of Father Mathew's labours gradually became obliterated. The stormy

stormy atmosphere of Irish politics, in which O'Connell could rear his head and echo back the thunder, was unfavourable to the tender plant of social and domestic self-denial. The repeal agitation swallowed up all other ; and monster meetings for the 'Liberator' buried in forgetfulness the exciting scenes of Limerick and Parsonstown. But Father Mathew never flinched from his work, but steadily pursued his career of benevolence. Once only the immediate necessity of the day overpowered, with him, as with the whole civilized world, all other considerations. The horrors of the Irish famine caused Europe to shudder. Disease, starvation, death, stalked abroad in the daylight, and the roadsides were scattered with the corpses of the perishing people. In Cork, a city of the plague, Father Mathew was found at his old post, distributing alms, organizing committees of relief, and bringing the whole force of his experience to the business of charity. To do this, he did not shrink from self-renunciation. He had received an invitation of a most flattering character to visit Rome—an invitation specially welcome to a priest of his enthusiastic piety. But he declared his place to be among his stricken countrymen ; and neither the charms of the Eternal City, nor the interests of his darling object, the Temperance Movement, could draw him from his post of duty. Faithfully he devoted himself to the alleviation of the distress and sufferings of his poor flock. His name was largely instrumental in procuring some of the timely relief which all Christian nations hastened to afford to his unhappy country.

Under the pressure of advancing life, and as the natural result of his long and arduous labours, the health of Mr. Mathew, originally robust, began to give way ; but he responded to the solicitation sent to him from America, and in 1849 crossed the Atlantic to visit the United States. His mission was principally directed to the emigrants who had gone from his own land ; but he obtained and gratefully acknowledged the friendship of Henry Clay, William Corcoran, Henry Grunnill, E. K. Collins, and other noted Americans. He remained abroad for two years, continuing his work, notwithstanding occasional attacks of paralysis. On the 8th November, 1851, his farewell address to the people of the United States appeared in the New York papers. He had visited twenty-five States of the Union and administered the pledge to 300 of the principal towns and cities, travelling 37,000 miles for the purpose. ' Though,' says he, ' the renewed attacks of a painful and insidious malady have rendered it impossible that I could (without imminent danger to my life) make those public exertions which were never spared by me in the days of my health and vigour, I yet, thank Heaven! have been instrumental in adding to the ranks of temperance over 600,000 disciples in America.' ' Never,' said

said he again to his physicians, who counselled absolute repose, ' will I willingly sink into inglorious inactivity. My life cannot be sacrificed in a better cause. If I am to die, I will die in harness.'

On Father Mathew's return to Ireland his friends observed a feebleness which too surely told that the strength of his manhood was gone. He tried in vain the milder atmosphere of Madeira ; he again returned to Ireland only more disabled. For four years he continued suffering under the malady which preyed upon his vital strength, and at the close of the summer of 1856 went to reside at Queenstown. On Tuesday, 2nd December, 1856, he was seized with a sixth paralytic stroke. He lingered on, until, on Monday the 8th December, 1856, in full enjoyment of the powers of his mind, and apparently without suffering, he died, a martyr to his incessant exertions on behalf of humanity. On the 12th December, the mortal remains of Theobald Mathew were, after a religious ceremonial, deposited beneath the great stone cross in the centre of the graveyard of the cemetery of the Botanic Gardens.

The short sketch we have given necessarily has involved so much allusion to the personal character of Father Mathew, that little remains to be said in further comment. His personal habits were plain and simple to an almost ascetic extent, and his carelessness of his own individual ease or comfort constantly gave cause for the affectionate anxiety of his friends.

There is much of childishness in the Irish character, and Father Mathew united to strong good sense a cheerful and happy playfulness which was very winning. Children loved him, and he loved them. This almost national disposition enabled him to keep together the elements of his organization more successfully, perhaps, than a sterner disciplinarian could have done. A jealous or disappointed secretary, who fancied himself slighted, or his society placed too low on the ' procession ' list, was laughed out of his pettishness, and swallowed a joke better than a rebuke.

' I once,' writes Mr. Dowden Richard in his ' Recollections,' ' took an English friend to visit Father Mathew. It was on one of those preparatory evenings (for the purpose of arranging processions, &c.), and on our arrival we found his parlour crowded by mechanics and labourers of all degrees, they with their hats on discussing the approaching gathering ; but where was the great man ? In a corner with his hat between his knees rattling in it and turning round and round a number of rolled-up tickets. We heard his cheery voice, calling out, " Come on now, boys, and as it's station you want, let every one of you draw number one, and then everybody will be first in the field." Among the drawers was a burly blacksmith, who was of opinion that on the last occasion his " room " had been displaced " somehow." In consequence of his complaint he was allowed to draw early, and after much churning of the hat he obtained number fifteen. His chagrin and disappointment were so great that Mr. Mathew begged the delegates to let him have another chance, when, alas ! for blind fortune he drew number thirty. Father Mathew patted him on the head, and calling him a warning to all gamblers and lot-drawers, sent him to his seat with a laugh on his lip instead of anger and ill-will in his heart.'

One can readily imagine that this easy familiarity won over many. Perhaps one of the most remarkable aspects of Father Mathew's character was his unbounded charity. The rapid progress of his principles brought ruin upon the publicans and spirit dealers ; and while with one hand he controlled the cause of their disasters, with the other he relieved (and in so doing expended considerable sums) the wives and starving children of the drink-sellers reduced to beggary. Even those publicans who were able to hold on to their business manifested no ill-will. It was not unusual for the public-houses to be decorated during a temperance procession, or to furnish the benches and tables for an extemporaneous platform.

The causes of the decadence of Father Mathew's temperance movement are sufficiently obvious and need cause no great discouragement. It was Father Mathew's movement, and in its intensely personal character lay one secret of its temporary power. Throughout his labours, he was assisted by zealous and able men, and these, many of them still living, have kept together the remnants of the temperance host until now. Much of the real progress in public sentiment caused by Father Mathew's agitation has been sustained, and Ireland can never again fall back to the state in which it was in 1838. But as we have seen, a very large amount of that which appeared to be progress, proved to be hollow. Much of the influence of the temperance movement was mere excitement and enthusiasm—not conviction or real conversion. The priestly character of Father Mathew, his reported miraculous power, disavowed certainly by himself, but never discredited by the people, were powerful, but could not be permanent influences. It is even now a danger which threatens the temperance work, to mistake excitement for progress, and to rank that advocacy as the most useful which produces immediate results of enthusiasm, by amusing the public mind, or arousing the feelings by powerful appeals, while it cannot convince the judgment or inform the understanding.

Doubtless, some use might have been made of the interest and excitement originally excited, to deepen impression while access could be gained to the popular mind. Unfortunately the few years succeeding Father Mathew's triumphs were years of stormy political agitation in Ireland. Temperance societies, with their organization, their banners, their bands, were carried into the vortex of 'repeal' enthusiasm. The wand of the sorcerer evoked a phantom which appeared to the people even more beautiful than the mild and radiant features of temperance. Father Mathew struggled hard to prevent the independence of the society of which he was president from being compromised, but O'Connell and Young Ireland were too powerful for his influence.

It is of course no part of our intention to deal with Irish politics,

politics, even of the past. We may, however, point out as one of the great breaches in the reputation of the 'Liberator,' that he looked with indifference, or at least with a very cold sympathy, on the temperance movement. Father Mathew sought to liberate his fellow-countrymen from a tyranny far more paralyzing and unbearable than any associated with the Union; but between him and O'Connell there was little cordiality. In 1834, when Mr. Buckingham, then member for Sheffield, brought up the report of his committee upon the causes and remedies for intemperance, the man to rise, and with all the power of his irony and ridicule to endeavour to laugh the subject out of the legislature, was Daniel O'Connell. When Father Mathew was at the zenith of his power and influence O'Connell quietly passed him by, or contented himself with so much of lip honour as the state of popular feeling absolutely demanded. 'You are making far too much of Mathew,' said he to the editor of one of the repeal organs. It may be that the great agitator was clear-sighted enough to detect the partial unsoundness of much of Father Mathew's popularity—it may be that, in the regard of the Irish people, he could bear no rival near his throne; however, the fact is undoubted, the repeal agitation worked great injury to the temperance movement in Ireland. We need not further allude to the dreadful visitation of famine, or to the entire absorption of every feeling, national and individual, in the sufferings of that time. There was in this, however, a cause for the withdrawal of public attention from temperance, and the concentration of sympathy and effort upon necessities, even greater and more immediate than those associated with vicious indulgence.

But the all-sufficient explanation of the decline of personal abstinence in Ireland will be found in the fascinating power of the drink, and in the continued existence of the temptation of the whisky shops. Vast as was the influence exerted by Father Mathew, in it, as in all other moral agencies, impression faded after lapse of time. As years rolled on, Father Mathew's image grew fainter and fainter in the recollection of his disciples. The publican was *always* at their elbow, offering the temptation to relapse. The appetite for drink is not an appetite founded on natural want, or indulged in from motives of reason or conviction. It is a physical desire generated by indulgence in the article itself. A strong mental or moral effort may, at once, crush down that appetite, and, in some, even in many cases, manhood may *maintain* its supremacy over the animal; but it can easily be anticipated that as the pressure becomes feebler, and resistance weaker, the appetite, in the majority of instances, will rear its head again. The presence of the temptation, not merely a moral temptation, but an excitement to physical desire, will always overcome a large number of the best intentioned, and this is specially the case

case where excitement has been the motive power in the first instance. No one recognized this truth more fully than Father Mathew himself. He was among the earliest adherents of the United Kingdom Alliance, an association aiming at the legislative extinction of the trade in strong drink. 'With rapture,' said he, 'I hail the formation of the United Kingdom Alliance. I laboured for the suppression of intemperance, until I sacrificed my health and little property in the glorious cause. The efforts of individuals, however zealous, were not equal to the mighty task. The United Kingdom Alliance strikes at the very root of the evil. I trust in God that the associated efforts of many good and benevolent men will effectually crush a monster gorged with human gore.' His experience has long been confirmed by that of every temperance society in the United Kingdom. The pledge-books of the societies show that the *convictions* of the vast majority of the people of the country have long since been reached, but their *practice* has not been correspondingly affected. Relapses, broken pledges, an endless struggle with the powers of social temptation constitute the staple of the experience of the most successful organizations. Moral suasion, as it is called, has done, and can do a vast work; in moral reform simply it is *all* powerful; even in the temperance reform, which is not simply *moral* as we have seen, but involves questions of physical appetite and control, it has produced and can produce marvellous *immediate* results; but those results to be *permanent* must be consolidated into *law*. It is with this view that the United Kingdom Alliance has suggested a measure by which a majority of two-thirds of the inhabitants of a district would be empowered to prohibit within their district the common sale of strong drinks. Such a measure would enable temperance reformers to hold their own. The public sentiment they might create would 'crystallize' into a law, which, encircling the moral conquests they had made, would protect its development and allow it to form itself into the maturity of settled habit. Had such a power existed during Father Mathew's agitation, the trade in drink would have been extinguished throughout the greater part of Ireland; the temptation would have been removed, and the reform would, to a very great extent, have been permanent and satisfactory. The lesson should not be lost.

ART. VII.—OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

** This space in the Review is open to our Friends in Council. Brief papers on questions of Social Science and Reform will be inserted. We do not endorse the opinions of our Correspondents.—ED.

To the Editors of 'Meliora.'

GENTLEMEN,

I BEG a portion of your valuable space in order to make some personal reply to the misrepresentations of the 'National' reviewer. Mr. Dawson Burns's forcible exposure of his ignorance, blind animosity, and self-conceit make it needless for me to enter on the general question.

I must first distinctly repudiate the compliment which this writer pays me at the expense of men whom I think far wiser, and engaged in a wiser enterprise, than he is; more especially since his unmeasured and ill-directed blame deprives his praise of all value.

I have now to complain that *everything* which he says or implies concerning my position or my arguments is inaccurate and delusive.

(1.) In p. 123 ('National Review,' Jan. 1860), he says that I am '*with* the Alliance, but not *of* it.' Every reader will suppose him to mean that I am not a member of the Alliance; yet the reviewer knows that I am a member, and in fact I am on the General Council. What the reviewer probably means, is, that I am not a teetotaler; and he is pleased to confound teetotalism with the Alliance. I wrote a letter to the 'Reasoner' expressly to separate these things. He has read that letter, pretends to elicit my opinion from it, yet reproduces the very same confusion, and does not give his readers a chance of understanding me. The Alliance is a practical body, pledged to a special work. I am *with* it in that work, and am as much *of* it as if I were a teetotaler in theory.

(2.) In p. 123, he says, I 'have not made the subject my especial study.' This is delusive disparagement. I have made 'the subject' of legal restrictions on the sale of intoxicating drink *an especial study* as truly as the reviewer has, and probably for more years. Perhaps what he means is (though no reader can find it out), that I do not profess to have examined for myself 'the statistics' of drunkenness. This is true. I receive the results from the committees of Parliament, from the judges, from physicians, from

chaplains of gaols, from philanthropic inquirers; and it would have been wiser in him to do the same.

(3.) He then refers to my letters to the 'Reasoner,' and says that my position 'differs *toto caelo* from the professed apologists of the Alliance.' What reader will fail to infer that I am not a professed apologist of the Alliance? whereas my letters were written avowedly in that character.

(4.) He treats me as propounding my own private scheme, when I am only expounding the suggestions of the Alliance for a Permissive Bill. His words are: 'We would prohibit, says he [that is, says Mr. Newman], *not the sale, but the traffic*; and he expresses his opinion [N.B. *my opinion!*] that a salaried agent should be appointed to sell alcoholic liquors to all who might demand them, but should be prohibited from gaining a penny by the traffic.' To find the reviewer mistake this for my private opinion is the more astounding, when my very words which he quotes, 'We would prohibit,' show that I am speaking of the Alliance, and not of any scheme of my own; and indeed I have distinctly renounced, as folly and treachery to a great cause, the splitting of the public movement by individualism. It will be full early for that when the measure comes on for debate in Parliament. Yet the reviewer goes on to say: 'The Alliance propose something very different from this; and it is as an advocate of the principles of the Alliance, *rather than* as an independent adviser, that we have to deal with Mr. Newman.' This is admirably adapted to puzzle a reader, who is left in doubt whether I am or am not advocating the principles of the Alliance. He proceeds: 'They [the Alliance] propose to appoint such an agent as Mr. Newman describes [then why say above that I gave it as *my opinion?*]; with instructions, left in blank in their draft of the Bill, but filled up sufficiently by their speakers.' But the reviewer knows that the speakers have no more authority to fill it up for the Alliance than I have.

(5.) He goes on to say: 'They [the teetotal speakers] would allow him [the

[the agent] to sell only for scientific, manufacturing, or medical purposes.' But I find this in the first draft of the Bill itself. I did interpose my private opinion that no useful legal interpretation can be given of the phrase 'medical purposes.' In so far I spoke for myself, not for the Alliance; and so sharply did I mark this off that I seem to have given no excuse for mistaking as to the rest.

(6.) He says: 'Treating the authority of the State over its subjects avowedly on the same footing as that of a general over his army, he [Mr. Newman] maintained—in answer to an assertion in the "Reasoner" that the Maine Law was "a crime"—the right of the State to prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors. He evidently conceives of the State and its functions in the true classical spirit, which ascribes to it a jurisdiction little less than universal and absolute over thought and action.' I cannot too strongly protest against this most gratuitous, sinister, unjust passage, contrary to everything that I have written for twenty-five years, and contrary to all that I have urged in the particular matter before us. The writer's mistake simply proves that he does not understand the first elements of the subject on which he writes with such offensive dogmatism and denunciation.

The temporary editor of the 'Reasoner' was guilty of the juvenile extravagance of calling the *Maine Law* 'a crime.' I did not think I was bound to write a lengthened refutation; but I briefly replied that if he held such doctrine he would find it very hard to establish any moral theory which should justify *martial* law; and on this the 'National' reviewer grounds his hardy assertion that I 'avowedly' treat the authority of the State on the same footing as that of a general over his soldiers! It is not my fault if he does not understand that *all* human law—civil, municipal, royal, martial, international—has a moral centre and common moral principles; and that one of these common principles is the right of sometimes coercing individual action. I expressed the opinion that he who calls the milder coercion used in the *Maine Law* 'a crime' may find it hard to justify the severer coercion of martial law. I may be wrong in that opinion; but that is no reason why the writer should take on himself to propagate a flat falsehood concern-

ing my political theory; and this with the phrase 'avowedly,' lest any reader, seeing how headlong is the reviewer, might suspect it was only his inference, and *not* my avowal. Yet, not satisfied with this, he adds that I 'conceive of the State and its functions in the true classical spirit, which ascribes to it, *a jurisdiction little less than absolute over thought and action.*' This would be a very extravagant statement if made concerning Aristotle. As to me, the reviewer is aware that in my letters to the 'Reasoner' I have based the argument of restriction on the *historical* civil law of ENGLAND. It is he, and his 'high authority' Mr. J. S. Mill, who are struggling to throw off the historical principle always and everywhere held by Christian and Mohammedan states; I mean, that the Public Virtue is to be cherished by the Public Law. That this is the doctrine of ancient, as well as of modern times, is no reason for abandoning or despising it.

(7.) He proceeds to quote (p. 124) a long passage from Mr. Mill, which every reader will suppose to be directed against *my* doctrines; for he opens with the words: 'His [Mr. Newman's] adversary took shelter under the authority of Mr. Mill, who has stated the contrary doctrine [to Mr. Newman] in the clearest and broadest terms.' Then follows the quotation, in which Mr. Mill is combating a definite statement of 'social rights' to which I have never expressed assent, and which (true or false) has nothing to do with any argument which I have anywhere used. Yet the reviewer follows up the quotation with the sentence: 'Without expressing absolute concurrence in Mr. Mill's view, we are bound to say that we consider it far preferable to that held by Mr. Newman.' This nails the matter. Any reader must necessarily imagine that I profess the views against which Mr. Mill is arguing. Yet this is mere invention of the reviewer; so much so, that I cannot even guess what may have misled him.

That which is here the more inexcusable is, that in page 123 he affected to turn away from the arguments of 'Dr. Lees, Mr. Pope, Mr. Dow, Mr. Dawson Burns, and the rest, . . . and confine himself to those of Mr. Newman and Mr. M. D. Hill. He then seems to devote to me pp. 123, 124, and one paragraph of p. 125; whence he proceeds to Mr. Hill. Yet, in fact, p. 124 is, all but three lines, 'Mill *versus* Pope,'

Pope,' while he professed that he would not argue against Mr. Pope, but against me!

(8.) He continues: ' we are bound to say, that we consider it far preferable to that held by Mr. Newman. The notion that it is the right and duty of the State to suppress whatever it regards as dangerous to *public health and happiness*, although it may be the mere external occasion of social evil rather than its cause, is suited apparently to America, as it was suited to Rome and Sparta. . . . But it is wholly contrary to those ideas of freedom which are essentially English,' &c. . . . But this is not my doctrine; nor do I even know who maintains it. I can only conjecture that he has taken the liberty of translating my phrase, *the Public Virtue*, into his Benthamite vocabulary of 'public health and happiness'; thus producing a doctrine which I hold to be false and foolish. The allusion to Rome and Sparta is another attempt to pelt me as a pedant. I never yet heard of a Maine Law at Rome; and a man would be truly a fool who advised us to adopt Spartan institutions. But the crudity of thought involved in this allusion to America is much below the rank of the 'National.' In all the colonies of England, those still attached to the crown as well as those independent, it is most manifest that the facilities of getting liquor, the early emancipation of children, and the movements of population, have made 'drink' still more dangerous to the community there than with us; and hence the earlier and louder outcries for restriction. In proportion as our home population becomes free from old feudalism, and the children have more liberty, we too need more and more severity as to liquor laws. So very far are we from outgrowing the need of them.

(9.) In p. 126 the reviewer says that I support the Maine Law on the theory of a paternal government. This is a simple blunder, unless he means to say that the theory of English law, and that of all Christendom, is and always was 'paternal.' The reviewer knows that I have maintained the restriction of the liquor trade solely and avowedly on the principles of old English law. But he says, 'we have long since outgrown' this theory; and contrary as this is to the fact, it suffices to show that he does understand my doctrine, but libels it by an odious and untrue

name. 'Paternal government' is the specious title assumed by an hereditary dynasty, like that of Austria, which pretends that the *executive* is as much wiser than *the nation* as a father than his children. The doctrine of Old England is not that the wisdom of the government is to dictate to the nation, but that the wisdom of the nation, duly elicited by debate in Parliament, shall impose law on the stupidity of the nation, and pre-eminently shall restrict public vice. But, if we are to believe the reviewer, 'we have outgrown' all this.

I have gone through all that the reviewer has said concerning me, and every single thing is a blunder. Yet he fancies that he may speak with authority concerning the looseness and inaccuracy of teetotalers, to say nothing of his more bitter imputations.

I now beg leave to pass from the reviewer to the Editor of the 'National,' a gentleman for whom I entertain a cordial respect, which I would express still more strongly did I not fear to be obtrusive. A year ago I was surprised to find myself honoured in that review by being bracketed against Mr. Mill in discussing this very point—the scope of the functions of the State; and the review expressed decided agreement with me. The Editor assures me that he has never intended to say otherwise as to the fundamental questions, which it is gratifying to learn, as some pledge for the future. Yet I cannot but feel that he is unduly aware how much of [Mr. Mill's doctrine his contributor has infused, not only in the phrases already noticed, but in a sentence I quoted under (8), where he talks of 'a mere external occasion of social evil.' A gambling-table is a 'mere' external occasion. It does not compel a person to play, any more than a gin-shop compels him to drink; it does but invite—entice him. To gamble for small sums is not in itself a greater sin or vice than to drink small cups. If two dukes choose to play at *loo* for sixpences, what moralist or statesman will desire to legislate against it? But as soon as public demoralization is endangered, the strong must endure some restriction of their liberty for the sake of the weak, although we cannot pretend that the thing forbidden is strictly 'a cause' of the evil. If it be a temptation too strong for the public to resist, that is a sufficient ground for legal interference.

FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Habits and Men, with Remnants of Record touching the Makers of both.* By Dr. Doran. Third Edition. London. Bentley, 1855.

2. The 'Times.' July, 1858, *et seq.*

THE great law of change is inscribed upon everything connected with man. The rocks which guard his dominions from the incursions of the briny deep, and the minerals which constitute his wealth, bear witness to the successive changes which have characterized past dispensations. The seasons roll round with silent grandeur, and present those delightful variations of wintry snows and spring flowerets, summer fruits and autumnal tints, which adorn the mansion of the great human family. The brightness of day gradually mellows into the deep shades of night; and the mighty hand of change is constantly recording its wonders in the heavens, and alternately clouding the blue ethereal with fleecy shadows, and bringing out its bright lights to sparkle like gems on a sable robe. The vast changes of nature have excited the admiration of the poet and the researches of the philosopher, and have furnished materials for the wonderful creations of the former, and the profound science of the latter. The poet has woven from them his finest garlands to crown those whom he delights to honour; and the philosopher has detected in their rapid transformations the great principles of order, progress, and design.

Man himself comes under the influence of the laws which regulate his dwelling-place. His entire career is composed of a vast series of changes which are determined by his nature and position in life. The historian narrates the variations in his political and social condition, and traces the development of human and divine laws; the moralist points to the changes from infancy to old age, and finds in each stage of life some peculiar virtues to be fostered and vices to be eradicated; and the preacher refers to the fading leaf, the blooming flower, or the morning mist, as emblems of the instability of human affairs, and to illustrate the great fact that 'the fashion of this world passeth away.' All these changes in nature and man are, however, deeply significant. They are the result of the operation of wise and beneficent laws, which are silently accomplishing the great design for which all things

were called into existence ; and they cannot be interfered with without suffering the penalty which violated law always inflicts.

The love of change is deeply seated in the human heart. It very early manifested itself, and gave a powerful sceptre into the hands of Fashion. At first her regulations were in harmony with natural wants, and her caprices were few and simple ; but in proportion as society became artificial and refined, her decrees assumed an arbitrary and extravagant character, and were published and rescinded with great rapidity. It might naturally be expected that our ancestors would readily imitate the fashions of their conquerors. Tacitus distinctly tells us that 'the sons of the British chieftains began to affect our dress ;' and the women, no doubt, would have followed their example, had it not happened that their garb was very similar to that of the Romans. The Saxons taught the people to wear long hair and forked beards, which they coloured blue by means of dye or powder ; and the Danes introduced to them their black garments, not as the symbol of mourning, as it is well known they never lamented the death of their nearest and dearest friends, but because they constituted the national garb, and harmonized with their national standard, the raven. The Normans brought with them many novelties in dress and habits, which the Anglo-Saxons eagerly copied ; and from the time of the Conqueror to the present day, the tide of fashion has, with a few irregularities, flowed in upon our shores from the continent. Every royal lady, who has been called to share the throne with our kings, introduced some of the fashions of her own country ; and the great convulsions which have shaken the church and the state have exerted no small influence on the decrees of Fashion.

Much philosophy, and not a little practical wisdom, may be gathered from considering the various freaks of Fashion. The human race has been most unfortunate in the epithets which have been applied to it ; and not the least curious is that which describes man as an imitative animal. He certainly possesses great curiosity, abundant vanity, and vast powers of mimicry. He is ever striving to realize what he sees around him, and exercises his ingenuity in contriving what he thinks will adorn his body and gratify his tastes. Fashion is the natural result of his mental and moral constitution, and of the circumstances in which he is placed ; and just as these have varied, its freaks have changed their character. It, however, has its own laws ; and though, at first sight, its changes appear more uncertain than the wind, yet, like the breezes of heaven, they can be observed, classified, and referred to the fixed principles which regulate them. No doubt it requires extensive and accurate observation, and much philosophic skill, to detect them ; still there are certain principles which regulate those who originate,

originate, and those who follow, the decrees of Fashion. The former are often actuated by caprice, vanity, or the desire of gain ; and the latter by the powerful craving there is in man to imitate what appears to be beautiful, or what marks out position in society. The changes of Fashion always follow one uniform rule. They never commence in the lower classes of society, and ascend to the higher, but the reverse ; for in whatever station they begin their existence, they either die out there, or descend to the lowest walks of life. Fashion thus furnishes an index to man's nature and condition. It displays his mental and moral character, and gives a clue to his social life ; it calls into lively exercise his imitative powers ; and it exerts a baneful or beneficial influence upon society, according to the character of the changes it inauguates.

The craving after the Beautiful exerts a wonderful influence upon the changes of Fashion. Their contrasts are so great, chiefly because there is nothing in which men differ so much as in their ideal of beauty. The fashionable Cherokee Indian, when he smeared his body with red or yellow ochre, and hung around him his rows of teeth and scalps, thought himself, and was regarded by his compeers, surpassingly beautiful ; as much so, perhaps, as the fashionable lady who, a century ago, endeavoured to heighten her charms by patches and rouge, a maccaroni head-dress, and well-hooped garments. 'What we are in fashion,' says Dr. Thomas Brown, 'is ever beautiful ; but nothing is, in fashion, so ridiculous as the beauty which has been.' A fashion would not be imitated if it had no supposed charms nor advantage to recommend it : those, therefore, who follow it must perceive something in it to render it worthy of their adoption. Their taste may be vitiated, and their estimate of its value erroneous ; still there must be some supposed advantage to recommend a fashion, before the old will be given up and the new received. The votaries of Fashion often have to make great sacrifices to gratify their tastes ; but perhaps that circumstance even enhances its charms in their eyes.

It is amusing to notice some of the circumstances which have rapidly brought in fashions, and as speedily banished them. Sometimes a word, or a single act, of a warrior will change the fashion of a whole country. When Alexander the Great ordered his Macedonian soldiers to shave, lest their beards should become handles whereby their enemies might capture them, smooth chins became universal in Greece. Mausoleus introduced a new custom into Asia Minor, when he commanded the heads of the conquered Lycians to be shaven ; for the poor fellows felt so uncomfortable and ridiculous, that they bribed the king's general to allow them to obtain wigs from Greece, and a peruke speedily became the height of Lycian fashion. Courtiers are always eager to imitate their sovereign ; and sometimes majesty will even condescend to follow

the fashion it has unwittingly introduced. When Louis XIV. was a little boy, he had such long, beautiful, curly hair, that all classes tried to imitate it by wigs and false curls; but when he grew up, and became the 'grande monarque,' the king adopted the full-bottomed wigs, in defiance of the canons of councils, and the thunder of the priests. All English gentlemen then wore perukes; though Charles II. forbade the members of the university of Cambridge to wear periwigs, smoke tobacco, and read their sermons.

The enthusiasm of a moment has not unfrequently introduced a fashion for life; and even sudden fear has rapidly turned its tide. At the beginning of the twelfth century, it was customary in England to wear very long hair; and a decree was passed in the Council of Rouen against it. But example is more powerful than precept, especially in fashion. When Henry I. was in Normandy, Bishop Serlo preached so eloquently against this custom, that, it is said, the king and his courtiers were moved to tears. The prelate immediately seized his opportunity, and his scissors, and cropped the whole congregation; and a royal edict secured the fashion of 'cropping' during Henry's lifetime. In Stephen's reign, however, long hair again appeared, though, for a short time, the previous fashion was revived in consequence of the dream of a young soldier, who was noted for the length and beauty of his hair. He dreamed one night that a person came behind him, and strangled him with his own curls; and the dread of such a calamity was sufficiently powerful to cause all men throughout the nation to cut off their flowing ringlets.

Fashions which have been introduced to hide defects have frequently become exceedingly popular. The Effeminati, or dandies, of the twelfth century, wore shoes with immensely long-pointed toes; and when the Earl of Anjou twisted his like rams' horns to conceal his deformed feet, the nobles eagerly adopted the fashion. The ruff, too, was first worn by a lady to conceal a wen on her neck. We are told that the sight of a falling apple suggested to Sir Isaac Newton the great law of the universe; and the appearance of a certain lady suggested the uniform of our gallant seamen. The English navy was not distinguished from the army by any particular costume till the days of George II. In the year 1748 there arose much discussion respecting a naval uniform, and one day his majesty George II., accidentally met the Duchess of Bedford on horseback in a blue riding-habit trimmed with white. The king was so struck with the effect of these colours, that he immediately commanded them to be adopted in the uniform for the navy; and blue and white continued to adorn the heroes of the deep till his late majesty, William IV., changed the facings to scarlet. An interesting volume might be written on the trivial circumstances which have introduced some of the most striking fashions.

fashions. Dr. Doran's book records a few instances, and is full of amusing gossip and pleasant reading; and the curious reader can consult with advantage, as Dr. Doran has, J. R. Planché's 'History of British Costume.'

Fashions have often been abandoned on account of circumstances not less striking than those which introduced them. The times of Elizabeth were characterized by enormous ruffs and fardingales. As the ladies then sighed, more than they do now, for clever starchers to get up their ruffs and points, the queen brought over some Dutch women, who were quite *au fait* in their work; and one, Mistress Dingham Varden Plasse, made a large fortune by teaching the nobility, at five pounds each, how to starch ruffs; and also, for twenty shillings extra, 'how to seeth,' says Stubbs, 'the liquid matter in which the devil hath learned them to wash and dive their ruffs.' The bands and ruffs of the reign of James I. were stiffened with yellow starch, which was introduced into England by Mrs. Turner, a physician's widow; but when she was convicted of being an accessory in poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and went to the scaffold in a yellow ruff, the fashion of wearing them died with her who had given them their peculiar colour.

In our own days we have seen many fashions given up as soon as they have ceased to indicate the position and character of the wearer. Charles II. invented for himself a peculiar costume called the vest dress, which consisted of a long cassock of black cloth, fitting close to the body, 'pinned,' with white silk under it. His courtiers thought it exquisite, and the fashionable everywhere adopted it. Louis Quatorze, however, showed his contempt of the mode and its maker by dressing all his footmen in 'vests,' which naturally caused great indignation in England, and led Charles and his courtiers to abandon the costume, because they did not wish to look like French footmen. The footmen of the aristocracy now wear the aristocratic dress of the last century. There was nothing more pleasing to our grandfathers, during the summer months, than their nankeen; and in England and France it was the height of fashion, to the great detriment of the trade of the latter country. Louis XVI. listened to the complaints of the French manufacturers, and speedily sent the custom out of his country, by dressing the public executioners in the fashionable material. Many a recent fashion has been introduced and consigned to oblivion by the tricks of trade.

The wise man might have been reviewing the fashions of his country when he wrote, 'Is there anything whereof it may be said, "See this is new!" It hath been already of old time.' The 'last new fashion' may often be discovered adorning the figure of our ancestors, with a few modifications to suit more extravagant tastes

tastes and pockets. Thus the present 'wide-awake' appears to have been the standard stock of an English hat. It represents the Roman *petasus*, or travelling cap, the Norman *capa*, and the shape of the first cardinal hats given at the Council of Lyons in 1245, before they were flattened and spread out to their present dimensions. The front was peaked, and the crown pointed, in the fifteenth century; and its original shape restored, and covered with feathers, in the sixteenth. In the seventeenth, the crown again gradually rose to a point, and then as gradually subsided, till it resembled the present yachting hats; and in the eighteenth, the flap was turned up, or 'cocked,' according to different fashions. There was the Monmouth cock, the Ramilie cock, the military cock, and the mercantile cock; and in the 'Spectator' No. 532, John Sly, 'haberdasher of hats and tobacconist,' states that he is preparing hats for the several kinds of heads that figure in Great Britain, with cocks significant of their powers and faculties.

The present workman's blouse was originally a Saxon garment, which was worn by the Norman knights over their armour, and was often lined with fur in the winter, and used as an overcoat. In the fourteenth century, it was made of coarse canvas, or fustian, and was worn by both men and women, and very much resembled the smock frock now worn by the rustic. The present fashion of hooping dresses, also, is no novelty. In the chivalrous days of Edward III., the Monk of Glastonbury tells us that the ladies 'wered such strait clothes that they had long fox-tails sewed within their garments to holde them forth.' The fardingales of the times of Elizabeth appear to have been introduced into England, with the ruffs, from Spain, and are the prototype of the modern hoops. Dr. Doran quotes the following curious anecdote from Bulwer's 'Pedigree of an English Gallant.'

'When Sir Peter Wych was sent ambassador to the Grand Seigneur, from James I., his lady accompanied him to Constantinople; and the Sultaness, having heard much of her, desired to see her; whereupon Lady Wych, attended by her waiting women, all of them dressed in their great fardingales, which was the court dress of the English ladies of that time, waited upon her highness. The Sultaness received her visitors with great respect; but, struck with the extraordinary extension of the hips of the whole party, seriously inquired if that shape was peculiar to the natural formation of Englishwomen; and Lady Wych was obliged to explain the whole mystery of the dress, in order to convince her that she and her companions were not really so deformed as they appeared to be.'

—Pp. 43, 44.

The eighteenth century was remarkable for the extraordinary Freaks of Fashion. There was a constant rivalry between the monstrous head-dress and the expanding hoops. Addison tells us he remembers several ladies who were once very nearly seven feet high that then wanted some inches of five feet; and Rogers, in his 'Table Talk,' relates how he had to place a lady, whom he was conducting to a party, on a cushion at the bottom of his carriage,

carriage, because her enormous head-dress would not allow her to occupy the seat. They were, however, of a different description from the heart-shaped and steeple head-dresses worn by the queen of Charles VI. of France, to admit whom, when full dressed, the doors of the palace at Vincennes were obliged to be altered. As the head-dress rose, the skirts generally contracted ; and when the high top-knots came down, hoops of different patterns and dimensions flourished. First came the wheel farthingale, like a huge drum ; then the triangular whalebone ; then hoops of graduated sizes. In 1745 they expanded at the sides, and contracted in front ; ten years later they became scarcely discernible ; and in 1757 they reappeared, and swelled into the enormous dimensions of the court dresses of the reign of George III. His successor, George IV., banished them from his court ; and the fashion departed to reappear in these days in the expanding crinoline.

The imitation of male attire by the other sex has called forth the satire of writers from the days of the Conqueror to the present time. In the fourteenth century, the ladies had their 'cotehardies' buttoned down the front like the men, with pockets outside, their waistcoats, and their 'paletoques ;' and Chaucer, in his 'Canterbury Tales,' gives some graphic descriptions of the prevailing costumes, and makes a parson lament 'the sinful costly array of clothing' of both sexes. The ladies, we are told, 'passeth the men in all manner of arraies and curious clothing.' At the close of the fifteenth century, Strutt remarks, that 'the dress of the English was so absurd that it was difficult to distinguish one sex from the other ;' and he quotes part of the instructions given to the chamberlain of Henry VII. ' Warme your soverayne hys petticotte, hys doublett, and hys stomacher, and then put on hys hozen, and then hys schone or slyppers, then stryten up his hozen mannerly, and tye them up, then lace hys doublett hole by hole.' In the days of Elizabeth, Stubbs writes, in his 'Anatomy of Abuses,' 'The women have doublets and jerkins as the men have, buttoned up to the breast, and made with wings and pinions on the shoulder-points, as man's apparel in all respects ; and although this be a kind of attire proper only to a man, yet they blush not to wear it.' Addison, too, in the 'Spectator,' repeatedly censures the male attire of the ladies ; and he gives, in No. 104, a description of a lady whose sex can only be recognized by a very small petticoat of blue camlet. The coat, waistcoat, hat, and male periwig formed the fashionable riding dress of the ladies.

We have thus illustrated a few of the freaks of Fashion by referring rather to the customs of our ancestors than to those of the present day, with which, we presume, most of our readers are familiar. From the same source we might show that extravagant fashions

fashions have exerted a most baneful influence on social life. Frequently the national exchequer has been exhausted by the extravagant habits of the people. The Normans first ruined the Saxons, and then themselves, by their costly fashions. Kings and queens often either ignored their bills, or pawned their plate and jewels to pay for their dress; and sometimes even robbed their rich subjects to support their extravagance. We might almost imagine that Stubbs was referring to our own times rather than to those of Elizabeth, when he tells us that, sooner than go without the last new fashion, men would 'mortgage their land, or risk the loss of their lives at Tyburn with a rope.' The nation has more than once been on the verge of ruin in consequence of the extravagance of all classes; and in the days of Edward III. the following stanzas were fastened to the church doors to rebuke the growing evil:—

‘ Long beirds hertiless,
Peynted hoods witless,
Gay cotes graceless,
Maketh England thriftless.’

Parliament attempted to remedy the evil on many occasions by passing sumptuary laws which should regulate the costumes of the different classes of society; but the decrees were generally unheeded, and the prohibited articles were even more eagerly coveted than before the interference of Parliament. Every species of vice flourished under the shade of extravagant fashions; and the gaol and the gibbet failed to warn men of the consequences of their reckless conduct. In vain the earnest clergy denounced these fashions from the pulpit; in vain monks and friars proclaimed crusades, and satirists wrote their ponderous tomes in ancient, and their pamphlets in modern, times against them: an occasional success was all they could achieve, and Fashion continued to perform her freaks with great celerity.

The fashions of the present day are exerting a most injurious influence on domestic life and morality. There is now a strife among the different classes of society which shall be the greatest. The city merchant imitates the style of his aristocratic neighbour in the mansion he must occupy, the equipage he must drive, the company he must entertain, and the appearance his family must make in society. The prosperous tradesman imitates the merchant, the clerk his employer, and even the servant her mistress; and in the great struggle to keep up appearance, each launches out into extravagant expenditure, lives up to, even if he does not go beyond, his average income, and often becomes reckless of consequences so long as the fashionable appearance is maintained. There is a story told of an Irishman who, on returning from market one day, was observed lashing his horse most furiously

and

and galloping by the side of two gentlemen. His friend, seeing fish after fish drop on the road from his panniers, cried out to him to stop, or he would lose all his fish. 'Hurrah!' cried Pat, 'bother tak ye, and what do I care so long as I keep up with the gentlemen?' It is this 'keeping up with the gentlemen,' at any cost, which is the source of much of the domestic unhappiness, commercial dishonesty, and criminal frauds to which our attention has been so recently drawn. The ladies must have their splendid silks and expensive lace, or they positively affirm they have 'nothing to wear;' the gentlemen must have their sumptuous dinners well served, and expensive wines, or they raise the pitiful cry they have 'nothing to eat;' the family must possess its suburban mansion, elegantly furnished, its gay equipage, and its rounds of balls and parties, or else life becomes a mean vulgar thing, scarcely to be endured! The goddess, Fashion, must be revered; her smiles are captivating, and her frowns withering: her favour, therefore, must be propitiated at any cost; and honour, truth, social virtue, and even common honesty must be sacrificed to maintain the worship of this powerful deity!

The recent treaty between England and France is likely to give a fresh impetus to the freaks of Fashion in this country, especially in dress; and when we think of the many splendid 'houses' which have already been crushed by these freaks, and see the thousands of lovely victims who have been ruined by such catastrophes, we may well ask, with the Rev. Lord S. G. Osborne, 'Where is the present wild extravagance in "dress," to end? Is each succeeding season to record its ruinous increase? Is it possible that folly can further go—that English ladies will become more enslaved to a power which is gradually vitiating the taste of every class?' Extravagance in dress is the fostering parent of many injurious fashions, and these not only 'vitiate the taste,' but also destroy the self-respect, the happiness, and prosperity of every class that imitates them. The fashionables often resort to the meanest tricks to increase the splendour of their appearance, and grind down their different tradesmen, who, in their turn, oppress their dependents and workpeople. Nor does the injurious influence of Fashion end there. The children receive an education of a vitiated character; they grow up with false views of life, and early learn to imitate, and sometimes to surpass, the extravagance of their parents. In the recent discussions in the daily journals on marriage and the great social evil, the baneful influence of extravagant habits on young persons was painfully illustrated. They naturally hesitate to enter the connubial state till they can afford to support the expenditure of a fashionable establishment; hence the young ladies either pine away in single life, and fall victims to fashionable follies, or render the domestic hearth unhappy;

happy ; and the young men perpetuate and increase that terrible social evil, which disfigures our streets, and stains our national character.

The baneful influence extends throughout the middle and lower classes, which often find that, by imitating the fashions of those above them, to use the words of Cowper,

‘ They sacrifice to dress, till household joys
And comforts cease.’

Their income is heavily taxed to keep up an appearance beyond their position and means ; and, whether it be small or large, it frequently becomes insufficient to secure domestic comfort, as well as provide for extravagant habits. Poverty then gathers, like a threatening thunder-cloud, over the dwelling ; and when any sudden event transpires, by which the income is diminished, or the necessary expenditure is increased, the storm of sorrow begins to fall. Business is crippled, and often surrounded by serious difficulties, for want of the money that has been lavished in extravagant fashions ; debts are contracted with scarcely a hope of their being discharged ; things daily grow more black and menacing ; peace and joy depart ; anxious care takes possession of the spirits ; the grim features of exposure and ruin become painfully distinct ; and in the fearful struggle for life and position, recourse is sometimes had to practices condemned equally by morality and law, to avert the disasters which extravagance has caused. Many who were once prosperous and happy have been ruined by Fashion ; and some are now paying the penalty of their recklessness in our prisons and penal establishments.

Wherever Fashion’s voice becomes imperative, and leads her votary along her changeful path, she becomes the tyrant, and mankind her slave. Life then is stripped of its true dignity and importance ; time and wealth, which might have been usefully employed in reclaiming the lost, and cheering the miserable, are frittered away on empty shows ; a restless dissatisfaction breeds contempt for the sober duties of life ; class strives against class in a most undignified and ruinous competition ; and the votary ere long becomes the victim, and, while attempting to keep up with the swift revolving wheel of Fashion, is suddenly dashed to the ground, and broken to pieces. There is such a thing in life as propriety, and what may be very becoming in one station becomes very ridiculous in another. Extravagant fashions are unseemly in all walks of life ; and they can have little idea of the dignity and design of life, whose thoughts seldom rise beyond the consideration of what they shall eat, or what they shall drink, or wherewithal shall they be clothed.

ART. II.—1. *Parliamentary Papers on the West Indies.*2. *Edinburgh Review.* 1858.3. *The West Indies and the Spanish Main.* By Anthony Trollope.

THE West India question is both interesting and complicated. The unique Act of Emancipation, the appalling suffering of the negroes under slavery, and the subsequent chequered history of those beautiful cyclades, give to the British West Indian colonies an interest and importance that richly deserve recurrent attention. Perhaps there are few subjects upon which more contradictory statements have been received: it behoves us, then, to look at this matter with care and candour.

The morally sublime reached its culmination, when, at the striking of the midnight hour of the 31st of July, 1834, 800,000 negroes were transformed, as by the touch of magic, from chattels into human beings. Their jubilant shout was echoed by the rejoicings of Great Britain, as it reflected with becoming pride upon an act, which is alike without precedent or imitation. But the question recurs, has enfranchisement answered or not? The reply to this inquiry depends entirely upon how we understand the question. Viewed morally, the greatest foe to religion cannot deny that it has fully met the expectations of the most sanguine philanthropists and abolitionists. Where once there was stolid ignorance, there is now, in almost every village of the Caribbean Islands, the busy hum of the day-school. In lieu of promiscuous intercourse and licentiousness, there is the Divine institution of marriage, with its well-ordered families. Instead of unending toil, no wages, and Sunday markets, there are stated hours of labour, generally few; regular wages, and a sabbath-keeping, happy peasantry; and where the once indecent and inhuman practice of flogging females prevailed, women are now, in many cases, relieved from agricultural labour, are found at home—their natural position—regulating their family duties, the husband 'providing for his household:' while the clean, white-washed cottage, with shingled roof, piazza, commodious central sitting-room, with a bed-room at each end, bright furniture, and its brighter china and glasses, pictures hanging on the walls, out-buildings for cooking, &c., and flower-garden in front of the village cottage, all speak of an amazing advance in civilization; while some of these sable children of Ham have a refinement of manner, and gracefulness of mien quite aristocratic; and, to say the least, in sobriety, decorum, and morality generally, they are on a par with the peasantry of England. Socially and morally, emancipation has assuredly paid a hundred times over. But has it also paid

paid as a question of economy? We unhesitatingly answer, It has. Proof of this is necessarily multifarious, but quite conclusive. Let us briefly examine it. It must at once be conceded that terrible commercial and agricultural depression followed upon emancipation, which many persons in England hastily, but most unwarrantably assumed, flowed from the abolition of slavery; but, as we shall presently show, this great and general distress was not produced by emancipation, for the causes of West Indian 'ruin and bankruptcy' were in potent operation long before the enfranchisement of the negro. Indeed, from the time of Charles II., the abandonment of estates, and ruin of proprietors have been quite common occurrences. In the words of Lord Goderich, Colonial Secretary in 1831, 'The great and permanent source of distress is to be found in the institution of slavery,' while in 1805, before the abolition of the African Slave Trade, the loud complaint was that of impending ruin. We may assume it to be as fixed as the principle of gravitation, that whatever puts aside natural laws and sets up artificial ones in their place, and whatever is unjust, must, from the nature of things, as settled by the Eternal, sooner or later end in wreck and ruin. Now this was emphatically the case with West Indian slavery. In the words of Mr. Bigelow, an acute American traveller, 'The Emancipation Act did not *cause*, but only precipitated a result which was inevitable. It compelled a balance to be struck between the debtors and creditors, which *revealed* rather than begot the poverty.' The stern fact is, slavery was bearing our beautiful and fertile colonies on to irretrievable ruin. Slaves were dying off in a very few years, while, the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 having cut off the supplies, slavery was fast wearing itself out, and depopulating our colonies with fearful rapidity. Indeed, as is well known, this alarming decrease of population *first* drew the attention of Parliament to the subject of West Indian slavery. It has been calculated that in a century at most, had matters been permitted to go on, the negroes of the West Indies would have become entirely extinct. That the proprietary body were in terrible straits is certain from the fact, that in 1830 they earnestly solicited relief from Parliament; while it was stated by Mr. Bright that their distress was 'unparalleled.' The causes, then, of the abandonment of sugar plantations were inherent in the man-degrading and God-dishonouring system of slavery itself. Mr. Bigelow declares that at the time of emancipation 'the island of Jamaica was utterly insolvent; nearly every estate was mortgaged for more than it was worth, and was liable for more interest than it could possibly pay: bankruptcy was inevitable.' Emancipation money merely staved off the ruin that had long been coming, and was now approaching with giant strides, by enabling proprietors to pay some portion of their mortgages,

mortgages, and kindred encumbrances ; when, after a lull, ‘ the rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew,’ and hurled them into ruin. Estates in general changed hands, and a new era set in : so thorough was this transfer, that Lord Stanley tells us, even in Barbadoes, where, from the density of population, labour has always been abundant, and so cheap that peasants often work for 5d. or 6d. a day ; in Barbadoes a ‘ change of hands took place, at the expense and ruin of the former owners, from whom their properties passed at a greatly diminished value.’

From the foregoing remarks we have seen, that even in the palmy days of slavery, when monopoly stretched over that British archipelago her protecting hand, concurrent testimony earnestly and feelingly avers, that rents were accumulating, slaves dying, products diminishing, trade decaying, and planters being ruined. In addition to setting aside the laws of Nature, and of the short-sighted policy of working the slaves to death by the stimulus of the lash, there were other causes of ruin, amongst which we may mention absenteeism, and bad management, attorneys never visiting some estates they were paid for managing ! Thus many of the plantations were yearly sinking money, and this, too, upon estates already heavily mortgaged, the aggregate of many years. These data will prepare us to look at and understand the subject of West Indian distress since emancipation. What is the cause of that dreadful outcry which has been ringing in the ears of the British public so long and loud ? The cause is legion. Briefly—After emancipation money had warded off the evil day for a short time, calamities seemed to have been gathering strength in the interval. In 1843, a grievous earthquake visited the Leeward Islands. Hurricanes followed, then drought. These chafed wounds already deep and sore ; but it was in 1847 and 1848 that the crash came, in the shape of a terrible fall in the price of sugar. In 1840 it was 49s. per cwt., exclusive of duty, whereas in 1848 it was only 23s. 5d. ; a fall of 25s. 7d. out of 49s., or, taking the average of eight years following, it was only 24s. 6d. per cwt. For the first twenty years in this century sugar sold at 48s., nearly twice as much as during the interval between 1846—55. In the above-mentioned eight years the amount of sugar had increased by four million cwt. and a half, as compared with the previous eight years, while instead of putting fifteen millions more of money in the planters’ pockets, had the old prices continued, it actually put seven millions less. This enormous loss precipitated a ruin which was inevitably approaching. This something rotten in the state of Denmark was a bequest of slavery itself. The fearful result of the low prices was, planters were actually making sugar at a loss ! The way matters had been managed heretofore was this : West Indian merchants in London were wont to supply the planters with

with capital upon the cargoes of sugar being consigned to the merchants, but now, such is the state of things, the sugar is not worth as much as is absolutely necessary to pay the labourers their wages. Thus, and now, the credit of the planter was gone. The money ceased to come, and with it the pot ceased to boil! So, perforce, Quashee left massa, and began to grow his own provision. Then, as if this was not enough, the West Indian Bank failed in a large amount; while—so completely did the avenger of God's retribution do his work—the British Government soon after determined, namely, in 1846, to carry out the principles of free trade; accordingly the slave-grown sugar of Cuba, Brazil, &c. was admitted into the British markets. The Bill provided a differential duty till 1853, when all sugar, slave grown as well as free, was admitted into the British markets at the same rate of duty, 10s. per cwt.

France, Belgium, and other countries having adopted protective measures in favour of their beet-root sugar, against cane-grown sugar, this had the effect of causing cane-grown sugar to be poured into the British markets, instead of, as heretofore, into European. Now if, when prices were high, and the markets were monopolized by protective duties, the complaints of distress were loud and long, of course when the enormous and sudden fall in the price of sugar overtakes the planters they are utterly overwhelmed. Have we not, ere this, said enough to account for the commercial ruin that overtook the West Indies? and is it not patent, that not one of these causes grows out of emancipation?

We next proceed to the question, Can free-grown sugar compete with slave-grown sugar? It can, and does, most successfully. We concede—for we wish to be candid—that under very favourable circumstances, and for a short time at least, slave-grown sugar may be said to be cheaper. *Ex. gr.* On an estate where every man, woman, and child could be employed all the year round, and where there were efficient overseers, slave-grown sugar might be said, *pro tem.*, to be more economical. But where this juncture of favourable circumstances does not occur—and it seldom does, for labour is mostly scattered, and occasional, and certain departments require skill—free labour is confessedly the cheaper. It is self-evident, to even a careless observer, that it must be more economical to pay a labourer moderately for what he can do well, than to feed, clothe, and house many for what they cannot properly do. Now the unanimous testimony of slave-holders is, that their slaves cannot be intrusted with machinery. It will be remembered that the hoe and the grass-knife, instead of the plough and scythe, were the implements used in slavery. Slaves are enervated, unenterprising, and, despite the lash, strongly inclined to while away their time; while even in the hypothetical case just mentioned, that of having constant work for gangs, with efficient overseers,

overseers, it is even doubted by some, whether, in this single instance, slave-labour is really cheaper in the end. Mr. A. Trollope, a recent traveller, states, that while in Cuba it costs 6*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* to make a hogshead of sugar, in British Guiana it costs only 5*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* per hogshead; a clear gain of 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* by free labour as compared with slave labour.

It may be stated, then, fearless of contradiction, that free labour, as carried on in our colonies where the land is so rich, and wages so moderate—from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a day—is cheaper than slave labour. What, then, brought about the West Indian crash, which reverberated through the world? We answer, The loss of monopoly hastened a ruin that was steadily approaching. Yet, strange as it may seem to hasty conclusionists, it does not therefore, and certainly, follow, that free trade, in the long run, is injurious to the West Indian planter: it may, or it may not: this depends upon other circumstances.

Slavery, it is now mostly conceded, is in a few years beaten by free labour; but what shall be said when slavery, as in the case of Cuba, and, till recently, Brazil, has the slave trade to boot? Well, here, too, free-grown sugar will, at the very least, maintain its ground, even when it has lost the crutch of protection. If more sugar is made now than under monopoly, it proves thus much, it pays, or planters would not continue to make it. And if the West Indies are now healthy, where a few years ago they were in the throes of financial death; if a resuscitation, and revivification has taken place, it follows, that even free trade, as well as emancipation, is, after all, a blessing and not a curse! We must here again appeal to Government Returns. In the ten years ending with 1846, the free-labour sugar poured into the United Kingdom was, in round numbers, 41 millions of cwt. In the ten years ending 1856, it was 54 millions of cwt.; an increase of upwards of 12 millions of cwt. England has consumed much more sugar, and, what is most singular, the revenue arising from sugar has increased under the lowered duties, in four years ending 1858, from 17,000,000 of pounds to 20,000,000. It might naturally be expected when, upon emancipation, every West Indian negro was left to follow the bent of his own mind in choosing employment, that there would be a great falling off in the staple article of sugar. Now had this been so, though it would have appeared, it might not have been a real loss, inasmuch as the diverted labour might have been expended in the production of other articles of commerce. Yet, strange as it may seem, the amount of sugar has actually increased in our former slave colonies. In the last two years of slavery, 1832 and 1833, the exports to Great Britain were 8,471,744 cwt. In 1856 and 1857, the exports were 8,736,654 cwt., and this increase includes Jamaica, still depressed; while we must bear in mind it also excludes

excludes a large trade now carried on with Australia and the United States; so that the total increase in the aggregate amount of sugar now made, as compared with that produced under slavery, is very considerable.

We next come to the question of scarcity of labour. Upon this subject complaints from almost all our British West Indian colonies have been great and repeated. It seems to be well authenticated that in the colonies of Jamaica, Guiana, Grenada, St. Kitts, and Trinidad, the complaint is well founded. There is a scarcity of labourers. Other colonies, also, would hail immigrants from Calcutta or West Africa, and if importation of labour could be managed in a humane and just manner, none could object to it; but it is, confessedly, beset with very great difficulties. Part of this certain lack of labour, however, is traceable to other causes than sparseness of population. Immediately after emancipation, and for some time subsequently, the planters were very uncomplaining with their quondam slaves. While in 1848, and soon after, the managers were bereft of capital, so the wages of the labourer not being forthcoming, what wonder that Sambo fled to the mountains, or squatted on waste ground, or became located in the new villages, and occupied himself with his own provision-ground? Not only so, but the labourers were not long in finding out that a freehold, or leasehold, in the long run, would yield them more money than working at a shilling per diem for another, and at certain seasons of the year having little or nothing to do. A labourer in Trinidad, according to the Governor's report, can clear 10*l.* an acre by his provision-ground; and as land in the West Indies, with few exceptions, is both plentiful and cheap, need we wonder that after they have saved a little money, many of the labourers prefer being their own masters?

With respect to the oft-repeated charge of the negroes being lazy, it is mostly a slip-shod expression, arising from misconception and assumption. Governors, magistrates, missionaries, merchants, all testify, that when sure of his wages, and kindly treated, the negro is both industrious and thrifty. Of course he cannot be expected to move as briskly, and work as long as labourers in a cooler clime, whose frames are braced, and whose wants, owing to inclement weather, &c., are more numerous. But taking these, and kindred themes into consideration, Sambo is as ready to do 'a fair day's work for a fair day's wages' as a British clodhopper; and after a day's toil the negroes work more or less in their own provision-ground.

We now come to an oasis in the desert of West Indian distress, to the first streaks of light denoting the morning dawn of what promises to be a long and bright day, after a protracted night of calamity. Most persons are aware, that with the solitary exception of a cry of complaint now and then heard from Jamaica, little has been

been said for the last three or four years of the West Indies. Has it not often been observed amongst British farmers, both north and south of the Tweed, that when they are able to pay their rent, and lay by something annually, they exhibit a silent satisfaction, but when the farm does not pay, how loudly they complain? Precisely so is it with respect to the West Indies. Those once noisy planters have ceased to be heard. Is their voice hushed in death, or are they as busy as a bee laying up stores of honey, with a low murmur of satisfaction, positively musical? The latter is the case. The colonies 'are now rising with great speed to a height of wealth, happiness, and comfort unknown to them before.' Say the number of our West Indian colonies is eighteen, then seventeen of these are prospering more or less—are, indeed, in a healthier social, moral, and productive state than ever they were before at any period of their history: the only exception is our largest island, Jamaica; and even it begins to show some signs of improvement, though as yet faint. Statistics from Government returns demonstrate this recent and delightful improvement. For this selection from reports, as also some of the previous statistics to our hand, we cheerfully acknowledge our obligation to an able and well-digested article in the 'Edinburgh Review' of last year.

In Antigua there is 'increase of trade, and a revival of agricultural prosperity.' The Bahamas exports and imports have risen 102,924*l.* in one year. Barbadoes reports a 'vast increase of trade.' Dominica is 'full of promise.' In Grenada 'contentment prevails,' while 'a proprietary body of considerable magnitude and importance has already risen from the labouring class.' In Guiana 'the revenue is flourishing, population augmenting, education spreading, crime diminishing, and trade increasing.' Montserrat is 'improved and improving.' Nevis a short time since 'abolished import duties, and taxed rentals 20 per cent. The new system increased the imports from 19,728*l.* to 34,449*l.*' It is not improbable that this new state of things, which has answered so admirably, may in time be very generally adopted. St. Kitts reports that 'its prospects are most encouraging.' St. Lucia the same. In St. Vincent's 'there is a really sound and healthy state of the colony at present, and a cheering and promising prospect for the future.' Imports and exports have increased 156,663*l.* in one year. In Tobago 'a marked improvement is visible in the revenue returns.' In Tortola sugar has ceased to be cultivated, but 'the change is wholly an advantage, almost all the people are owners of cattle,' for rearing which the island is peculiarly adapted. Trinidad is 'highly flourishing;' indeed, trade has increased enormously, upwards of 400,000*l.* in one year. The same returns inform us that British total exports to the West Indies in 1857, were half a million more than the average of the previous ten years; and that

‘they equalled our exports to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece, Azores, Madeira, and Morocco all combined.’ Indeed they have lately been increasing at the rate of a million a year. In 1857 the sugar imported from the West Indies to Great Britain was valued at 5,618,000*l.* Altogether, then, the West Indies, as a whole, are highly prosperous, while England participates in the golden themes. The rainbow of hope spans the sky, and the Columbian cyclades have risen to a pitch of financial prosperity with which former days cannot be compared.

In that British archipelago new negro villages have risen as at the waving of a fairy’s wand. Thousands upon thousands of negroes have become owners of freeholds, many of whom possess live stock; while not unfrequently, especially in British Guiana, they unite to purchase an estate, and employ a white planter, who calls them master—the very man, it may be, who once uttered the cry of terror, ‘Put him down!’ while the beseeching eye feelingly said, ‘Tink me no man!’ What a change! There are now of coloured men, barristers, legislators, doctors, ministers, editors, planters, proprietors, and merchants. We may here remark that the islands in general are governed by a representative assembly, council, and governor, except in the three crown colonies, Guiana, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, in which there are only a governor and legislative council. To entitle a man to be a member of the House of Assembly, he must possess a freehold of 300*l.* a year, or a personal estate of 3,000*l.* An elector must have a freehold of 10*l.* per annum in the parish for which he votes.

Jamaica, we have stated, is the only exception to this returning prosperity, the cause of which continued depression Sir H. Barkly ascribes to be as the root, ‘the want of mutual confidence, the insecurity of property, arising from the inadequacy of existing arrangements for enforcing the law.’ The ‘Times’ says, in October, 1859: ‘The Government had in no way relaxed the stringency of its financial enactments, and the country was suffering greatly under the pressure of excessive taxation.’ There is no doubt that when matters get properly adjusted, Jamaica, too, will shake herself from the dust, and rise into strength and prosperity. Indeed, in the ‘Times’ of last November, we read of Jamaica: ‘Notwithstanding complaints from one or two districts, the season has been generally prosperous, and the canes are in a more promising condition than they have been for years past.’

The lessons emancipation teaches are, that ‘Right is might,’ and ‘Honesty is the best policy.’ It tells Russia to emancipate her serfs, as the right way to prosperity, and no longer to dream about the road to Constantinople. It tells France and Spain that wrong never comes right. It tells the sixteen slave states of South America that natural laws cannot be set aside with impunity; while

while the stunted, poverty-stricken aspect of these slave states, and their five millions of whites in degrading ignorance and destitution, echo 'They cannot.' It tells the boasting Americans of the North, that their fundamental law, 'All men are equal,' is true ; and that their free coloured people cannot be deprived of all political and social rights with impunity. That in the grand essentialities of being, 'All men are equal,' is a living and divine truth, to set aside which is suicidal and ruin in the end to those who do so. In a word, the flood-tide of prosperity that now fertilizes the West-Indian islands will do more to promote the cause of universal emancipation, than sanguinary insurrections, a hundred 'Uncle Toms,' and a thousand homilies.

ART. III.—1. *An Essay on Labour—its union—its proper objects—its natural laws—its just rights—its duties and prospects.*

By John Scott, author of 'Politics for the People,' &c.

2. *The Importance of the Study of Economic Science as a branch of Education for all classes.* By W. B. Hodgson, LL.D.

3. *The Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire from 1839 to 1859. An Essay by D. Chadwick, read at the Statistical Society, Dec. 1859.*

PRIMINENT amongst the recollections of our early life are trade riots, machinery smashings, and the wilful firing and destruction of premises in which improved machinery was, or was to be erected. About thirty-four or thirty-five years ago, trade in the ribbon manufacturing districts was very bad, as, with the exception of a few fitful intervals, it has too generally been, so far as our knowledge extends ; and the genius of invention had fixed upon this period to effect a revolution in the motive power. Already the 'single hand loom,' making only one ribbon at a time, was fast dying out, being superseded by the 'engine loom,' making from five to thirty ribbons at once, according to their width ; and now it was proposed to double the length of these engine looms, and to move them by steam power instead of by human hands and feet. We have said that trade was very bad : indeed a large proportion of the weavers were out of employ. The employers, whose drawers were full of ribbons waiting for customers, and whose capital was all wrought up, and could not therefore buy more silk or find further wages, and who, to meet their coming bills, must soon sell at some price, even at the risk of bankruptcy, were not without their share of suffering.

And as employers will do, when ruin stares them in the face, and, as we regret to say, some employers will do when they are simply greedy of extra profit, knowing that lower prices would

extend their sales, they attempted to reduce the list prices of the few who remained at work. Now a decent living in exchange for hard work has always been a difficulty with the ribbon weavers, and a knowledge of political economy is even yet a consummation devoutly to be wished amongst them ; and as the more you press upon a ball of india-rubber the less elasticity will remain, so the nearer the human subject approaches the starvation point, the greater will be the resistance to any further reduction, necessary or not. So in this case, the workmen saw only that 'the masters' were bent upon a reduction of prices, and they turned out to resist the 'tyranny.' A turn-out or strike in those days was a very different thing to what we now observe under the same name ; a strike was not then confined to a peaceful parade through the streets, and a collection of subscriptions from shop to shop, with a calm appeal to the public by placard or newspaper advertisement. True, there were deputations sent to wait upon and reason with the masters, but they were backed up by numbers enough to inspire a wholesome terror ; true, that even then most of the speakers in the green hollow, called from time immemorial the 'weavers' temple,' counselled peaceful conduct ; but if an obstinate employer was caught in the street, there was always a donkey near at hand, and a hundred willing helpers to set him astride thereon ; and thus with his face towards the donkey's tail, he was forced to ride through the principal streets, and if unrepentant, was conducted to, and dragged through the nearest horsepond. And woe to the man who gave a promise under terror which he afterwards revoked ; his garden gates and palisades, his greenhouses and windows, would be certain to need renewal before many days were over.

On the occasion under consideration mob law abated no jot of its vested rights ; the usual meetings were held, the usual speeches made, the usual processions passed daily through the streets, penetrating through all the courts and alleys to turn out the 'knobsticks' and punish the obstinate masters. But this was no case of two or three greedy employers trying to get a few weeks' advantage over their fellow manufacturers, and a few weeks' extra profit out of their workpeople—no case of a few men who always forget the connection between the amount of wages paid and the possibility of a family keeping soul and body together thereon ; but a real cessation of demand, which left only the unpleasant choice of hard work for half a loaf, or idleness and no bread. The necessaries of life were scarce and dear, even middle-class people could not get their usual amount of luxuries ; the wives and daughters of the well-to-do tradesman wore only half their usual quantity of ribbons, and those of lower quality than ordinary ; and the wives and daughters of working men were obliged

obliged to resort to the dyers and dressers instead of the drapers, and to make old things look almost as well as new, in order to keep up their scanty supply of daily bread. The English harvest was bad, and a portion of the wealth which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been spent on ribbons, had to be given to the Russian farmer for corn to keep us in existence till the next season's crop should be at hand. It was difficult for the neglected, ignorant workman of those days to see why a bad harvest should make corn dear ; since, as we have often heard it asserted in later days, the harvest is never so bad but plenty of corn is to be had at some price ; and it was more difficult for them to see, that this very high price, instead of being a reason for raising their wages to enable them to get corn enough, might even be a proper reason for reducing them. The consequences of ignorance are the penalties imposed upon us by nature for allowing the barbarism of an uneducated working class to exist in the midst of civilization. If each working man raised his own corn and his own potatoes, and had a bad crop, he would have no difficulty in recognizing the duty of working as hard as ever for the future, whilst he ate only half as much for dinner or supper ; and so, if educated properly for his position in a civilized community, he would equally see that when harvests are bad, he must be satisfied to take in exchange for his work a less amount of money wage, which is, in fact, only an order or series of orders for a lessened quantity of corn, potatoes, &c.

But this simple logic was far beyond the reasoning of the working men of forty years ago, as, we fear, it is beyond some of them to-day. What they could, and did see, was, that the single hand looms which constituted the wealth of their fathers, and which were, in fact, 'heir looms,' in their families, were now only good for firewood ; and that the engine looms, upon the possession of which the most respectable weavers of that time prided themselves, were now threatened with the self-same ruin. What a ruthless destroyer is this same creative power of invention ! it travels like a railway train, and smashes all things which go at less speed in its track. We heard a few days ago of a cotton-spinner occupying the same mill, with the same machinery, in which his father some thirty years ago made a large fortune, whilst the son, in the best state of trade the cotton spinners ever saw, is not earning salt ; the only reason being, that whilst his neighbours have spent ten per cent. per annum of the original cost of their machinery in improvements, he has not ; and so, by saving this ten per cent. of outlay, he is ruined. But it is not every man, even in these days, who can see his way to prosperity through apparent extravagance ; and the ribbon-weavers, with the annihilation of value in their own little properties staring them full

full in the face, and with the prospect of the steam factory in exchange for domestic employment for their children, must be excused if the vague talk about supply and demand did not convince them of the propriety of submitting to a reduction of wages.

It is hard to stand by and see the savings of a life of prudence swept away by what another man calls improvement,—hard to see the work which has hitherto been the bread of thousands, and in dependence upon which they have grown up, been married and given in marriage, and risked their whole domestic happiness, diverted into another channel,—hard to see men and women thrust aside by iron and coals and water. And this was the weavers' prospect, for they could not see the widening market which cheapened production was to bring, and which would shortly employ them all again and more. It is not wonderful that the prejudice against steam power and the factory system was intense, so intense as to be difficult of belief at this time ; but we very well remember that in a public discussion at the Mechanics' Institution, some years later, an intelligent and well-conducted weaver asserted, 'that rather than send his children to work in a factory, he would take them by the legs and dash out their brains against the wall.' Such were the prevalent opinions of the tyranny and gross immorality of factory life, that death was thought preferable to that kind of employment. Here was a theme for starving men to dilate upon : already the produce of one pair of hands had been enormously increased within a few years, and trade was now so bad that a large proportion of them were out of employment ; and whilst it was attempted to reduce the existing prices upon the plea of absence of demand, here was a scheme to again double the size of looms and to keep them in constant motion. How could any market find room for all the labourers if this thing was allowed to go on ? No ; it was too evident that men with souls were to lie down and die, to make room for the iron man with lungs of steam ! Human nature could not bear the thought, starvation grew eloquent and indignant, and 'knobsticks' and tyrant masters, and donkeyings were all forgotten or merged in the all-absorbing desire to stop the wheels of progress. And when the public meeting was over, and the weavers' green temple deserted, gloomy-looking groups of men and youths formed about the streets and gravitated slowly, and without apparent intention, to the banks of the river where stood the steam factory. And lo ! whilst all other workshops had turned out their tenants these were occupied as usual : the tall chimney belched forth its black volume of smoke, the engine groaned, the shafting revolved, and the looms clanked as if there was no such thing as bad trade and no dispute about prices ; there was evidently a market for goods, but they

they were to be supplied after this fashion. Why should not these people turn out like the others until the list price was agreed upon? it was evident that they were working under price: why, the gates were locked as if in defiance of public opinion! And the feeling grew more embittered as the crowd increased, till some one knocked at the gate, which not being promptly opened, seemed like adding insult to injury; and when the knocks had been several times repeated, with no better result, force was soon applied and the gates burst open: the crowd then ran to the building, which the most adventurous amongst them entered in order to turn out the hands. But whilst some were thus engaged, the demon of mischief was busy with others, and soon arose the cry of Fire! Fire! Fire! Alas! the alarm was too true; and whilst it is fully believed that very few men in that maddened crowd would have approved the wicked design, or, had it been seriously proposed, would have lent it the sanction of their presence, yet now that the deed was done, there was but little proffered help to put out the flames, and less expressed sorrow for the sad occurrence. On the contrary, as the flames burst through the windows, and crept serpent-like round the wooden frames and cornices, and leapt from story to story upwards to the roof, illuminating the black and sluggish river, and converting its dye-poisoned water into liquid gold studded with many-hued gems, the crowds upon the bridge shouted with delight; and when the aerial reflection drew the attention of the whole city to the occurrence, and busy rumour with electric speed defined the spot, few and far between were those who sympathized with the proprietor, or expressed much sorrow for his loss.

So many a fancied wrong has been the source of a real crime, and not until the deed has been accomplished past recall does reason resume its sway: then intense excitement is followed by excessive lassitude, great courage by great cowardice: so in this case the excitement culminated in the destruction of the mill, and then came the fear of consequences, which was added to by the appearance of the magistrates accompanied by some troops of cavalry upon the scene. The Riot Act was read at once, the crowds dispersed, and the leaders were very soon in custody, and at the next assizes two men were left for execution, and one was transported for life; but a great effort succeeded in commuting the extreme penalty of the law into transportation for the whole. We believe that two of these three men are now well-conducted citizens in the colony of Victoria, as they were formerly at home; proving, that however great their crime, they were criminals by accident, not by design; they committed a criminal act, for what, under their excitement, appeared to be a justifiable reason. But the result was very lamentable; it banished them in disgrace, it increased

increased the criminal expenditure of the county ; it laid an extra tax to restore the property ; it increased the cost of ribbons in the meantime ; it engendered bitter feelings which only death could assuage, and assisted to drive capitalists away to a more congenial soil upon which to realize their improvements, and so permanently lessened employment in that locality. Notwithstanding all that has been written and said upon this subject, there is still a lingering feeling of opposition to improvements amongst the working classes in various parts of the country. A short time ago the shoemakers of Northampton and Stafford refused to finish machine-stitched tops ; the tailors have in many places refused to work after the sewing-machine ; and less than a year ago a Liverpool shipbuilder having got the copper for a ship's bottom punched by machinery, was forced, by a strike of the other workmen, to employ the hand-punchers to go over the work again just as if it was not already done. And a few weeks since, when some wilful damage to machinery for saw-making in Sheffield had been attempted, and a reward offered by the proprietor, the magistrates, and the Secretary of State for the discovery of the offender, anonymous threats against the lives of the proprietor and his family actually induced the withdrawal of the offered reward !

There is probably no man so foolish as to believe that it would be possible, even if it was desirable, to stop the progress of mechanical invention, for such progress is not confined to our own country ; other nations tread very closely upon our heels, and in some articles surpass us in cheapness of production. Thus the French beat us in hat pluses and in the best kind of silk goods generally ; the Germans in light and thin woollen cloths ; and the Americans and the Swiss in clocks and watches. Nor could a combination of skilled artisans succeed in such an object even if they were to leave off patenting their own inventions (which are not a small proportion of the whole) so long as their wages are double or treble as much as those of the agricultural labourer ; on the contrary, the opposition of, and difficulties with workmen, always stimulate inventive effort, so as to still further increase the efficiency of the ever-obedient iron man, who never tires and never strikes work ; and well-paid trades will never be short of workmen for any considerable period. But even intelligent working men do not yet comprehend the full significance of improved machinery ; but, like Mr. Scott in his essay, they see that progress must go on, they acknowledge the value of increased powers of production, but they begrudge the possession of machinery by the employer. Mr. Scott's essay, amidst much loose and irrelevant matter, puts forth two doctrines which are growing in strength amongst working men : viz. that the whole land of the country ought to belong to the State, so that the improved

improved value which is caused by the demand arising from increased population should be common property; and that machinery for productive purposes should be the property of the workpeople. It is very clear, that if, by prudent saving, working men can become capitalists, and by wise combination purchase the workshops, machinery, and floating capital which now find them employment; and if, in their new capacity of proprietors as well as workmen, they can still implicitly obey their managers; then they will secure the nett profits of the master in addition to their own wages; but until moral education is sufficiently advanced for this purpose, it is surely much more advantageous for them to share the results of improvements with existing capitalists than not to partake at all. But what is a machine? Where does mechanical invention commence? at the spade, the plough, the steam plough, or the hitherto infantile steam cultivator? Does it commence with the round and hollow stones with which the Red Indian bruises his corn, with the hand mill, the water corn-mill, or the steam corn-mill? Does it commence with the bridle-path over the mountain, the turnpike, or the railway? with the wheelbarrow, the common stage-cart, or the state railway carriage? with the hand-hammer or the patent Nasmyth striking a blow of fifty tons? with the raft, the canoe, the barge, the full-rigged ship, or the mail steamship? with the oar, the sail, the paddle, the submerged or the aërial screw-propeller? What are all these things but appropriations of the powers of nature to the service of man, by means of the simplest mechanical contrivances? for out of these come all the complicated machines which serve us by land and sea, in the mill and in the field. The lever, the inclined plane, and the screw are the parents of them all.

Mere labour, without tools, *i. e.* without machinery, or, as Dr. Hodgson puts it, without the results of previous labour, can accomplish little; while the results of foregone labour, in whatever form embodied, need fresh labour in order to become still more productive. Thus, *e. g.*, a spade is a result of past labour; without it the labourer could accomplish little; and, on the other hand, a spade without a labourer to wield it, would be unproductive. Now the spade here represents that portion of wealth which is devoted to reproduction, and which is called capital. Capital and labour are thus indispensable to each other. They may exist in different hands or in the same hands, but they must co-exist and co-operate. The general principle of which this is an illustration applies to all machinery, simple or complex. Machinery is one of the forms of capital—of that capital which is necessary to, and the desire of profitable employment for which creates a demand for, further production. And the more excellent the machinery, *i. e.*, the more effectually it seconds the efforts of the labourer,

labourer, the larger will be the demand for their joint productions.

Whence comes the demand for labour, in the field or in the factory? Doubtless it originates in human wants; but constituted as society now is, human wants alone, unaccompanied by the power to give in some shape an equivalent for the desired produce, would only cause a pauper demand, and even that would not cause additional labour, but would detract, in an equal degree, from the demand of the contributors to the poor rates. Real effective demand arises out of the ability to pay for the articles necessary to the nourishment of the body or the gratification of the mind. Increase of wealth is therefore the only road to increased demand for labour. What becomes of the increased wealth of the landlord, the merchant, the manufacturer, the workman? It is all employed productively or unproductively. The landlord, instead of living riotously, spends his savings on drainage and other improvements, thus increasing the demand for agricultural labour, and increasing, at the same time, his own future rent-roll. The merchant charters a vessel which he loads with goods and sends off in quest of a new market, from which in return he may increase and thereby cheapen our supply of the necessaries or luxuries which other climates produce in greater perfection than our own; thus increasing the demand for home products, and also finding work and wages for shipbuilders and sailors: the manufacturer invests in a new and improved machine for cheapening home productions, thus increasing the comforts of consumers and giving us a better chance of sale in foreign markets; and the workman who has saved a store, either invests as an employer in his own trade, or deposits his money in a bank or a loan or building society, whence it is borrowed and used by some one who by its agency creates an extra demand for labour.

Thus the investment in machinery, however improved, and however paradoxical it may seem, does in reality, in common with all other prudential investments, increase instead of diminishing the demand for labour; and it does so necessarily, because every successful new machine yields a profit over and above that which it supersedes: this extra profit increases the future wages fund, for it is only by paying wages that another generation of profit can be secured; and therefore the investment of a larger wages fund requires a larger number of labourers somewhere. If the plough and the harrow make more profit than the spade, the result will be that their proprietor will pay more wages and will require more labourers on the same, or more probably on a larger acreage; so if the steam-plough realize more profit than the horse-plough for its owner, he will in future spend more in wages, and will therefore require more labourers. And if a cotton-spinner

spinner gets more profit out of his double-decked and self-acting mule than was realized out of the spinning-jenny, then, even though the produce of one pair of hands be multiplied tenfold, he will still, because of his accumulated capital, require a larger number of workmen. And the very production of machinery itself induces an immense demand for labour. Whence has come the enormous trade in iron and its various manufactures now carried on by this country? Whence the employment of the fifteen thousand members of the society of 'amalgamated engineers,' the thousands who compose the smiths' society, and the thousands who do not fraternize with either society, but yet are engaged at pattern-making, moulding, forging, planing, boring, turning, filing, and erecting machinery in every direction? Whence the miners and smelters who prepare the metal for the other trades? Whence, but from the demand for machinery, which, rendering man as many handed as the Hindoo deity, is rapidly aiding him to fulfil his destiny—to people and subdue the earth?

One of our most eminent political economists has asserted that whoso makes two grains of wheat to grow where only one grew before is a benefactor to his species; and that which is true of the first necessary of life is equally true of every article which tends to human comfort; so that he who causes two shirts, two coats, or two pairs of stockings to be produced where only one was produced before, is equally a benefactor; and he who hinders any of these things not only lessens the present comforts of himself and fellows, but by preventing present increase he also prevents future profit, and future increased production; and thus lessens the growth of the comforts of life for all time to come.

Although the wealth of the capitalist alone is invested in the manufacture of improved machinery, although he alone pays the inventor and the machinist, he is, as we have shown, very far from reaping the whole advantage to himself. On the contrary, he is obliged, in order to get a profit on his outlay, to give the greater share of benefit to the public; and is himself but a small partner in what at first sight seems to be his own concern. He needs to sell his increased produce, and, to get an increased market, must sell at a lower price; and as fast as the improvement becomes generalized, his competitors will follow in his track, and prices will continue to fall until the extra profit will be only sufficient to pay interest upon the extra capital invested, or until the machine is superseded by some further improvement; the consumers of produce being, in fact, the largest partners in the fruits of the inventor's skill and the manufacturer's capital. But if machinery be so very beneficial, it will be asked, how does its introduction often throw workmen out of employment, and bring many of them to ruin? First, because many men are so uneducated that the slightest

alteration

alteration from the routine in which they have been brought up unfits them for the work. Thus there is still a remnant of hand-loom cotton weavers, mostly old men and women, ekeing out a miserable existence by working and starving in their own cellars and attics, by weaving ginghams and checks at about six or seven shillings per week when in full work ; but who are, in reality, not half employed, but are mostly dependent upon the poor rates. Second, because the whole increased produce from a new machine cannot be given at once to the public at the price of the smaller quantity, involving, as it does, an increased quantity of raw material, which, by the increased demand, will at first rather rise than fall in price, and involving also an interest upon increased capital. For these reasons a new machine of great productive power may, if rapidly generalized, require the opening up of a new market in order to keep all the workpeople in employment. But a new market is only required when corresponding improvements are not going on in various trades at the same time. And it is one of the peculiarities of invention that an improvement tending to lessen the selling price of one class of productions, stimulates improvement in every direction to meet it : thus many a man who looks at works of art as completely out of his reach, will, if a considerable reduction in price takes place, make an extraordinary effort to gratify his taste, and thus increase the productiveness of his own department of labour ; and this principle holds with regard to ordinarily useful as well as artistic productions, and thus increases the demand for both.

In any case where one class of workmen is temporarily displaced by improvements, another class is benefited at the same time ; thus, if the spinner and weaver be displaced, the iron smelter and machine maker are employed ; if the wages of the one class are temporarily depressed, those of the others are raised ; and if a small section of men be temporarily distressed, the whole world beside is benefited ; and in the course of a very short time after any great improvement the number of persons employed will be found to be greatly increased, whilst the weekly wages of the workers will generally be improved. In fact, it may be adopted as an axiom that where machinery has been most improved, there trade has been most prosperous, *i. e.*, has done best for those immediately engaged in it, and for society generally. It is quite true that in almost every change some few persons suffer, and the changes arising from the progress of invention are surely amongst the most important of those casualties which should be provided against by good trade societies.

A glance at the present as compared with the past positions of the great textile manufactures will show that the measure of mechanical improvement is also the measure of general prosperity ; that

that the most prosperous trades are those where, however great the progress of population, the powers of production have outstripped the increase of the people. Thus, in Lancashire, the home of the cotton manufacture, and also the home of the most perfect machinery, the population in 1821 was 1,052,948, and in 1859 it had increased to 2,372,700, being a growth of 125 per cent., whilst the ratio of increase for all England and Wales, exclusive of Lancashire, was, for the same period, only 59 per cent. Now apart from, at least, an equal increase of production, such a rapid growth of population would be a misfortune, would make Lancashire the great home of pauperism; but, happily, the value of real property which, in 1814, was 3,139,000*l.*, amounted in 1857 to 10,458,000*l.*, being an increase of 233 per cent., or nearly double that of the population; whilst the increase in England and Wales, generally, was only 93 per cent. Lancashire has, therefore, outstripped the country generally in population by 66 per cent., and in the growth of real property by no less than 140 per cent.

And yet, during the period which has seen such an immense stride in real property, the cheapening of the peculiar productions of Lancashire has been in even greater proportion than the increase of wealth. The amount of raw cotton consumed in this country in 1814 was 53,777,802 lbs., whilst in 1858 it was 905,600,000 lbs., being an increase of nearly 1600 per cent. The number of persons employed in cotton factories, in 1817, was 110,763, as estimated by Mr. Kennedy, and in 1858 they were about 400,000, say an increase of 300 per cent. since 1814. Now the proportion of juveniles at present employed is much greater than formerly, and yet we find that improved machinery enables each person, upon an average, to convert more than four times as much cotton into yarn or of yarn into cloth which one person could do at the commencement of our period. Thus, whilst population has more than doubled, the wealth of each person, upon an average, has nearly doubled; and the productions of each person have more than quadrupled since the year 1814. How could these things have happened apart from the cheapening of the comforts of life which improved machinery has alone made possible?

The population could not have been employed without an enlarged market; the enlarged market was only made possible by the cheapening process, and a pauperized population in accordance with its own increase decreases the value of real property, until, as in Ireland in 1846, rent, the test of value, becomes only a figment of the imagination. But in Lancashire the progress of wealth has nearly doubled that of population; whilst the cheapening of Lancashire products has tended to enrich the world, and has even more enriched its authors.

That this is not mere theory will be made evident by an examination

examination of the prices of the cotton goods exported at the extremes of the period already spoken of.

The official or government standard value (established about the year 1696) of the cotton goods exported in 1814 was 17,665,378*l.*, whilst the declared or real marketable value was 20,070,824*l.*, or about 12*1*/₄ per cent. in excess of the official; whilst in 1858 the official value of the exports of cotton goods was 182,221,181*l.*, showing an increase in quantity of more than 900 per cent.; but the declared or real value in 1858 was only 43,001,322*l.*, or an increase of about 114 per cent. over the exports of 1814; or in other words a tenfold quantity, sold for little more than double the former price. In all probability some of the later exports have been of lower quality than those of former years; but when the utmost possible allowance in this respect has been made, enough will remain to show that the cheapening process has been only less wonderful than the history of invention itself. And this conclusion will be entirely borne out by any observant housewife, whose memory will carry her back from forty to fifty years, for she will be able to bear witness, that the price of a yard of calico print in 1814 will now purchase three or four yards as good in quality and better in design than formerly, so that the matrons of to-day may wear three or four new dresses for the price paid by their mothers for one.

And concurrently with this great cheapening of commodities, we find also a considerable advance in the weekly wages of the work-people, which is contrary to all working-class prejudices with regard to the operations of improved machinery. Mr. Henry Ashworth, of Turton, near Bolton, a large employer, quoted by Mr. Chadwick, gives the following illustration of this point:—In a cotton-mill of 500 workers doing both spinning and weaving, the hands employed will be about 19 per cent. of men, 50.2 per cent. of women, 6.6 per cent. of boys, and 24.2 per cent. of girls. The average wage in 1842 of a spinner of yarn, number 70 (*i. e.* where 70 hanks of 840 yards each weigh one pound), working on a pair of unimproved mules of 400 spindles each, was twenty shillings per week, whilst in 1859 it was twenty-five shillings per week. The same workman, with a pair of double-decked mules of 1,600 spindles would, after paying his assistants, earn at the present time thirty shillings and tenpence per week, being an increase of from 25 to 33 per cent. in money wages, besides the gain from the immensely depreciated prices of such necessary articles as cotton manufactures.

Mr. Chadwick, whose paper deals very fully with the question of wages during the last twenty years, gives the average weekly earnings of cotton spinners and power-loom weavers as follows:

Cotton spinners, in 1842, for 69 hours' work, 20 <i>s.</i> ;	in 1859, for 60 hours' work, 25 <i>s.</i>
Weaver on four looms "	17 <i>s.</i>
	" 18 <i>s.</i>

During

During the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, which lasted from 1839 to 1846, it was very commonly asserted, and amongst working men very generally believed, that cheap food would lead to cheap wages, but here, again, the logic of facts goes entirely against the prejudice, showing to demonstration that the growth of capital, whether in food or in the raw materials and implements of manufacturing industry, is the growth of prosperity for all classes of society. Thus in 1820, a time of restricted trade and low wages, the average price of wheat was 65s. 10d. per quarter, and during the whole term of the corn laws the cry of agricultural distress was constant; and it was asserted that farmers could not live with wheat at less than 60s. per quarter. But we have heard nothing of agricultural distress lately, and the average price of wheat in 1858 was 44s. 2d. The price of beef at St. Thomas's Hospital was at Ladyday, 1820, 4s. 10d. per stone, and at Michaelmas 4s. 6d. per stone, whilst in 1858 it was 2s. 10d. per stone.

But the advantages of machinery have not only been direct but reflective; have not only increased the demand for labour, cheapened produce, and raised money wages in the cotton trade, but by increasing the demand for the makers of machinery, have also raised wages in the various departments of that trade also. Mr. Chadwick's paper shows a rise of from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent. in the various trades thus engaged. We quote a portion of his statement as follows, viz. :—

Pattern-makers, in 1839, for 58 hours' work, 30s. ; in 1859, for 58 hours' work, 32s.					
Smiths	"	30s.	"	"	32s.
Planers	"	20s.	"	"	22s.
Borers	"	19s. 6d.	"	"	20s.
Brass-founders	"	30s.	"	"	34s.
Painters	"	24s.	"	"	29s.
Erectors	"	32s.	"	"	33s.
Boiler-makers	"	30s.	"	"	32s.

This return represents the wages per week for fifty-eight hours' work, but it does not represent the actual wages of the men, for a considerable portion of machinery is made by piece or contract work, and then, either by more intense application or by longer hours, the wages earned are often much larger. And by-the-by we may point out the fact that in this system of piece-work there is more than appears at first glance. It illustrates an epoch in the progress of the working man; it is half-way between the position of the mere day-labourer dependent on the will of the capitalist employer, and that of the co-operative artisan who in the future will be both capitalist and workman. For piece-work the most skilled artisans associate, the human machine is stimulated, and its full intellectual as well as physical energy exerted to increase its production: the earnings of the workmen are in accordance with their ability and perseverance; in fact, they become their own masters

masters whilst working upon the capital of the employer ; they are free and self-controlled, and look forward to the completion of their contract, instead of to the end of the day. We have known men thus employed earn as much as 20s. per week over the regular day wages for months together.

Turn we next to the woollen trade, whose chief seat is the West Riding of Yorkshire, and where machinery has also made great progress ; and although the West Riding is not so completely devoted to manufacturing industry as Lancashire, nor so entirely devoted to the woollen as Lancashire is to the cotton trade ; and although the published statistics are not so full nor so definite as could be wished, we shall yet find quite enough to confirm the conclusions drawn from the field of the cotton manufacture.

The population of the West Riding in 1821 was 809,363, and in 1859 it had reached 1,471,740, being an increase of about 81 per cent., or 22 per cent. in excess of England and Wales without Lancashire. The imports of wool in 1820 were 9,775,605 lbs., and in 1858 they had reached 126,738,723 lbs., being an increase of nearly 1,200 per cent. ; so that, assuming the home production to have remained stationary, and the persons engaged in the manufacture to have increased 100 per cent., there must still be an amazing increase in the amount of wool converted into yarn or cloth by each workman, such increase being the result of improvements in machinery. The cheapening process must also have been largely operative here as in the cotton trade, for whilst the imports of wool have so rapidly increased, the increase in the declared value of the woollen manufactures exported in the same period shows much less progress. Thus the declared value of the exports of woollen manufactures in 1820 was 5,968,807*l.*, and in 1859 it was 12,042,831*l.*, or a little over 100 per cent. of increase. We have not seen any return of the official values for late years, and it is dangerous to quote from different authorities, because of the various modes of classification adopted by different compilers. But Porter, in his 'Progress of the Nation,' gives a series of returns ranging from 1815 to 1834, and from these we find that whilst the quantities of piece goods, and of goods entered in yards and dozens increased by 24 per cent., the increased real value was only about 2½ per cent. ; and this cheapening process has gone on much more rapidly since 1834, as any one acquainted with woollen cloths can witness. The quantities exported in pieces and yards in 1859 were from 700 to 800 per cent. greater than in 1834, but the declared or real value of the woollen goods and yarns exported was only about 130 per cent. greater than in that year. Although the increased value of real property in the whole of the West Riding is not great, yet when it is remembered that Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, Sheffield, and the out-townships of Leeds, and many smaller towns in the Riding, are almost the growth of the last forty years ;

years; and when it is known that more than one-third of the property assessed under Schedule A by the Income Tax Commissioners in 1857 was within the parliamentary boroughs; and how small a portion of the area of the Riding these boroughs cover, it will be admitted that the revolution caused by machinery in Yorkshire is only second to that of the adjoining county. A reference to the statistics of two or three of the towns in the Riding will make this fact still more evident. Thus the population of Leeds and its out-townships in 1801 was 53,162, and in 1859 it was 190,340, being an increase of 258 per cent. in 58 years. The amount of real property assessed for income tax in 1815 was 166,227*l.*, and in 1857 it was 688,487*l.*, being an increase of 314 per cent. in 42 years; or an excess over the increase of population of 56 per cent. in a term shorter by 16 years. The population of Sheffield in 1801 was 44,755, and in 1859 it was 158,430, being an increase of 254 per cent. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 126,542*l.*, and in 1857 it was 473,645*l.*, showing an increase of 274 per cent., or 20 per cent. in excess of population in a sixteen years' less term. In Huddersfield the population was 9,268 in 1801, and it had reached 36,490 in 1859, being an increase of 400 per cent. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 17,998*l.*, and in 1857 it was 129,807*l.*, being an increase of 600 per cent., or 200 per cent. in excess of the population in a term shorter by sixteen years.

If we turn to the third great textile manufacture, silk, the difficulty of forming a correct estimate of progress will be even greater than in dealing with the woollen trade. The trade is much less localized, but occupies portions of six counties. Its head-quarters were for a long period in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, at the east end of the metropolis; and the neat cottage of the Spitalfields weaver, with its loom-shop over the sleeping-rooms; its little garden, famous for pansies and other choice flowers, the work-room made musical by canary birds and larks, was as distinctive and well known a feature of London life as the Lombard Street of the banker, or the Petticoat Lane of the Jew clothesman. Spitalfields for broad silks, and Coventry for ribbons, have been noted for centuries; but this, like all the other great textile industries, has migrated northwards, and Congleton having early adopted the factory system, now rivals Coventry in its plain ribbons; whilst Macclesfield no longer confines itself to bandanas, neckerchiefs, galloons, and doubles, but throws its own silk, and sends broad silks, and gimps, and fringes to the Manchester market. Derby also manufactures the silk which is thrown (twisted) in its own mills; and Manchester—manufacturing, commercial, cosmopolitan Manchester—plunges boldly into all the various branches, and gets the lion's share of the prosperity to be realized.

But a much larger proportion of the silk manufacture is still a
Vol. 3.—No. 10. K domestic

domestic occupation, than either in the cotton or woollen trades ; the application of improved machinery has been a much slower process, and, as natural consequences, the productions have been but slightly cheapened, and there has been much less extension of the trade. If a lady will have a good silk dress, she must pay very nearly if not quite as much for it now as would have been necessary thirty years ago ; and where ribbons appear to be much lower in price, strict examination will often lead to the discovery that the weft is of cotton yarn hard twisted and dressed with gum. A sort of compromise between the ordinary domestic weaving and the factory system is now being tried in Coventry, but so far with small success.

A ribbon manufacturer builds a row of cottages with loom-shops over the sleeping-rooms in the usual style ; he then puts a steam-engine in the centre, and runs a shaft through the whole of the workshops. He lets each cottage for a weekly rent, which includes a charge for steam power ; and each occupant finding his own looms, or hiring them also from the employer, works at home with his family, instead of in company of hundreds of strangers, or perhaps amongst disagreeable associates. The weak point in this plan seems to be, that paying for steam-power does not insure regular work, and the expenses of the weaver are therefore too heavy in times of bad trade ; and he resorts to looms of the same size, put in motion by a windlass or a bar, and worked by a lad at about the price of steam power, but who is paid only when there is work for him to do.

The statistics relating to real property, are, until late years, given only for old parliamentary boroughs, for entire counties, or for divisions, which, retaining the same names, differ from time to time in area ; and the silk trade occupies so small a portion of the various counties where it is carried on, that any conclusions drawn therefrom would be of very doubtful value. So with regard to population. The increase in Coventry, Derby, Macclesfield, and Congleton from 1820 to 1859 has been about 117 per cent. Now this is nearly as great as the increase of Lancashire ; but the Lancashire return includes the agricultural districts, whilst this is confined to manufacturing towns, and is certainly much less than that of the town population of Lancashire or of the West Riding.

The increased imports of silk over the same period have been about 290 per cent., being about one-fifth of the ratio of cotton, and one-fourth that of wool.

From the various modes of classifying the exports, any conclusion as to the increase of quantity would not be reliable ; but when we know that the chief increase of imports has been in low-quality silks, and that whilst the whole increase of quantity has been only about 290 per cent., the increase of declared value of the goods exported has been 320 per cent., it is clear that if

if the whole amount of the imports had been manufactured and re-exported, it is impossible that there should have been much cheapening of commodities.

Turning to the statistics of the silk-manufacturing towns, we shall find our theory, that prosperity is as the progress of machinery fully borne out. Thus in Coventry, where the staple is about equally divided between the production of ribbons and watches, the latter trade being much less fluctuating than the former, the population in 1801 was 16,034, and in 1859 it had increased to 42,200, being an increase in 58 years of 163 per cent. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 57,770*l.* and in 1857 it was 120,931*l.*, being an increase of 100 per cent. in 42 years, so that, assuming the increase to have been regular throughout the term, the progress of wealth scarcely keeps pace with the population.

So in Derby the population in 1801 was 10,832, and in 1859 it had become 48,240, being an increase of 345 per cent. in 58 years. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 39,430, and in 1857 it had increased to 145,340*l.*, showing a progress of 268 per cent. in 42 years, or very slightly in excess of the progress of population.

In Macclesfield the population in 1801 was 10,482; and in 1859 it was 44,990, being an increase of 329 per cent. in 58 years. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 37,941*l.*, and in 1857 it had increased to 93,285*l.* or 145 per cent. in 42 years; an increase which, to accord with the progress of population, should have been accomplished in 26 years. In the cotton and woollen districts there are many instances of workmen rising to great wealth and honour; in the silk districts it is more common for wealthy men to sink into poverty.

Still the silk trade of Lancashire, where all the improvements in machinery have been employed, has partaken of the general prosperity around, and has experienced a considerable rise of wages.

Mr. Chadwick gives the following return—

Silk throwster, 1842, for 69 hours' work, 14 <i>s.</i> ; and in 1859, for 60 hours' work, 17 <i>s.</i>				
Weaver	"	"	18 <i>s.</i>	20 <i>s.</i>

But this return applies to Lancashire alone, and it is very doubtful if there has been any rise elsewhere: in the county palatine, general improvement has been rapid, and the demand for labourers constantly increasing; the pauper families of the agricultural districts have been brought in and raised into comfort, and the silk trade has partaken of the general stimulus; but where the staple occupation is silk, there has been no such progress: not much has been given to the public, and the return has been alike

meagre. But even in this trade the prospect is good ; steam factories are increasing, the government schools of art are improving the taste of the manufacturers, and French competition is improving the taste of the public : and although it seems to be the destiny of this country to make a serviceable article out of the lowest quality of material, this destiny is fulfilled in a manner which no other country has equalled. And now, M. Bonelli's electrical loom, by doing away with the necessity for Jacquard cards, will remove a considerable element of cost in figured silks, and will assist in carrying on the cheapening process, which alone can make the silk trade as prosperous as those of wool and cotton, which alone by giving largely to all the world will in return enrich and bless the givers.

If, therefore, we wish for the progress of wealth and comfort, we must wish for the progress of machine improvements ; and if some plan could be hit upon to enable working-men inventors to carry out the fruits of their own intellects, instead of being obliged to sell for a nominal sum, or to see them pirated without hope of remedy, a great measure of justice and of utility would be accomplished. Who so likely to improve a machine as the workman who erects it, and must needs know its capacities ; or the workman who superintends it in operation, and who, comprehending the principles as well as the practical working of the art by which he earns his bread, must know its defects as well as its excellencies ? But, moderated as the charges for patents have been, they are still wholly out of the reach of the operative. But suppose the patent laws entirely abrogated, and a simple registry of inventions to be established at a nominal charge. Then let any inventor deposit his model and his specification ; let these become at once public property, so that any one may adopt and manufacture the article ; then after a term of years, let a scientific jury be called to assess the value of the invention, and let that value be paid out of the consolidated fund. Then every inventor, however poor, might look forward with confidence to his just reward, patent prices would be done away with, and every machine would be purchased at once at the cost of material and workmanship, with a moderate profit to the maker. To appreciate the value of such an arrangement, look, for example, at the sewing-machine. We have no doubt that these very useful articles could be readily produced at forty shillings each ; but, so far as we know, the lowest price for one which makes a fast stitch is seven guineas ; the difference being the effect of the patent laws, and the consequence being the restriction of the sale to thousands, instead of as it ought to be, and would otherwise be extended to millions, and the continuation of the tedious operation of hand-sewing and depreciated health in hundreds of thousands of families.

ART. IV.—*Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa, together with Journeys to Jagga, Usambara, Ukambani, Shoa, Abesinnia, and Khartum; and a coasting voyage to Cape Delgado.* By the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Krapf, Secretary of the Chrishona Institute at Basel, and late Missionary in the service of the Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Equatorial Africa, &c. &c. *With an Appendix respecting the snow-capped Mountains of Eastern Africa, the sources of the Nile, the Languages and Literature of Abesinnia and Eastern Africa, &c. &c., and a concise Account of Geographical Researches in Eastern Africa up to the Discovery of the Uyenyesi by Dr. Livingstone in September last.* By E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S. London: Trübner and Co. 1860.

GEOGRAPHICAL discovery has advanced very slowly in the peninsular continent of Africa, though ancient civilization had one of its earliest seats on the banks of the Nile, and the monuments of Egypt, as well as fragments of history, sacred and profane, testify to what a height of greatness the Pharaohs attained. The Phœnicians formed their settlements on the northern coast, at least thirty centuries ago, and the Persians conquered Egypt five hundred years before the Christian era. Greece and Rome penetrated across the Mediterranean, and their mariners were acquainted with the coast line from the mouths of the Nile to the pillars of Hercules. Little more, however, was known of the continent of Africa. The river of Egypt being the only one open to the ancients, and the great Sahara pressing so closely upon the strip of habitable territory along the whole northern coast, prevented further acquaintance with this large portion of the world. There is a story told by Herodotus, the credibility of which seems still to oscillate between the most learned modern critics, but which is accepted by one of the latest writers in a volume devoted to the geography of Herodotus. The story is this:—Seven centuries before the Christian era, Necho, king of Egypt, sent out an expedition under the command of certain Phœnician seamen—then the most renowned navigators of the world. They set out from the head of the Red Sea. ‘When autumn came,’ says the Father of history, ‘they sowed the land at whatever part of Libya they happened to be sailing, and waited for the harvest; then having reaped the corn, they put to sea again. Two years thus passed away. At length, in the third year of their voyage, having sailed through the pillars of Hercules, they arrived in Egypt.’ The historian who first records this feat, throws some doubt over its performance, but the reason assigned for his incredulity is one which

which to modern science would prove the very opposite—the physical fact stated by the voyagers, that they had the sun on their right hand all through their adventurous way. It is curious to mark how the statement of Herodotus has been received. In ancient times it was considered incredible. Modern writers hesitated to deny the possibility, and now it is boldly asserted. Major Rennell, one of the ablest reviewers of the evidence, ‘argues the possibility of such a voyage from the construction of their ships, with flat bottoms and low masts, enabling them to keep close to the land, and to enable them to enter into all the creeks and harbours which any part of the coast might present.’

The unbroken coast, the tropical situation, the peculiar climate, and the great desert, contributed to prevent discovery making any progress for many hundred years. The Ptolemies, who did so much for learning and conscience, added nothing to African geography. The Carthaginian merchants, adventurous beyond their time, made little way into the interior. And though Roman arms penetrated as far as Abyssinia and Fezzan, they brought back little to enrich human knowledge. It was left for the Mohammedan Arabs to make the first effort to cross the Sahara to the centre of the continent. They also reached Senegal and Gambia on the west, and even planted colonies on the east, at Sofala and Melinda.

In the fifteenth century, a celebrated and successful attempt was made by the Portuguese to explore the coast of Africa. In 1406, Prince Henry, one of the sons of John I., devoted himself with great earnestness to this object, and resided for the purpose at a small town near Cape St. Vincent. Beginning in 1412, he despatched a ship annually to make discoveries. Much was added to an accurate geography of Africa by his efforts. After his death in 1463, the spirit of enterprise failed for a little, but it revived again in bold and renowned adventures. In the year 1487, Bartholomew Diaz reached the most remarkable southern point of Africa, which he named Cabo Tormentoso—the stormy Cape—to commemorate his experience of the southern sea. His king changed the name into one more pleasing—the Cape of Good Hope—which, from the results of his anticipations regarding regions beyond, has been approved by posterior discovery. In the year 1497, Vasco di Gama discovered the route to India, and conducted a fleet of Portuguese vessels across that intervening sea, over which so much of the commerce of the world has since been carried.

Interior discovery was long prevented from the north by the Sahara. This vast desert spreads over a region extending from the valley of the Nile to the shores of the Atlantic—a length of three thousand miles, with a breadth in some parts equal to a thousand

sand miles. It is not entirely a plain, but a table land rising 1,500 feet, and occasionally 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, with mountain groups 6,000 feet in height. The district of Fezzan towards the north is divided by a broad and open valley, less sterile than the general character of the desert. Towards the east onwards to the Nile, the barrenness is relieved by oases, where springs of water abound, and which give a rare verdure to a scene surrounded by an herbless waste. The Great Oasis extends north and south fully ninety miles. The western portion again, 'though also diversified,' says a geographical writer, 'by some oases, is a more generally barren region than its eastern division. In some places it consists of dreary black rocks, broken into fantastic forms, and sometimes forming ridges which lie so close as hardly to leave room for caravans to pass between them. In the more open parts are vast tracts of burning sand, blown into ridges and hillocks, steep on one side, and sloping gradually on the other, and the position of which is rapidly changing. The atmosphere over these parched and arid regions often presents the appearance of a red vapour, the heat of which is augmented by a burning wind called the Samiel or Simoom. On the southern side there is a depressed region, sinking sometimes so low as 100 feet, and even at one place 167 feet below the level of the sea. This is succeeded by an extensive table land, sometimes sloping towards the sea, but also, as in Abyssinia, rising into mountains of 7,000 or 8,000 feet on the very margin of the ocean. The great desert was long deemed to be a 'broad belt intercepting the progress of commerce, civilization, and conquest from the shores of the Mediterranean to Central Africa.'

The interior has, however, been penetrated by the enterprise of explorers. During the last three quarters of a century more has been done to enlarge our knowledge of Africa than during all previous history. In 1769, Bruce penetrated to the source of the Blue Nile, a locality visited, as he afterwards learned, by the Portuguese missionaries before him; but he left the longest arm of the mighty river of Egypt undiscovered. The African Association, formed in London in 1788, sent several travellers into the interior. Mungo Park, in 1795, went up the Gambia, and fixed on our maps the southern boundary of the desert. In 1805, he attempted to trace the Niger to its source, but he never returned: the companions of his journey, thirty-eight in number, all perished also. Great, however, was the interest given to the public by the narratives of Bruce and Park, and there has never been wanting since a succession of adventurers to follow their footsteps, and open up the African continent to science, civilization, and religion. Hornemann went in 1799 from Cairo to Murzuk, but he too perished. Captain Tuckey, in 1816, conducted a disastrous expedition

dition to the Congo, without adding any information. So did Lyon and Ritchie in 1819. Denham and Clapperton and Dr. Oudney entered the desert from Tripoli in 1822, and advanced as far as the Lake Tsad and Soccatoo. Dr. Oudney died at Bornoo; but Major Denham and Captain Clapperton returned laden with successful discovery. Clapperton revisited Soccatoo by the Gulf of Guinea, and passed Brussa, where Park fell a victim. He was also a martyr to his zeal, and died at Soccatoo in 1827. His mantle fell on the faithful servant who attended him, and who soothed his last hours—Richard Lander. Along with his brother he attempted to trace the Niger, and added considerably to a correct geography of that river.

The Niger long puzzled geographers, and expeditions to obtain correct information regarding it, were sent out by the English Government at a sacrifice of human life not much less than the North-West passage itself. We have referred to Captain Tuckey's failure and disasters. He mistook the Congo for the Niger. In 1841, three steam-vessels were fitted out, as some of our readers may recollect, in order to ascend the Niger, and to promote philanthropy by obtaining treaties from native chiefs for the suppression of the slave trade. Fever prostrated almost all on board, as they entered into the country, and out of one hundred and forty-five men, forty-eight died. The steamers returned with no information, save the sad tidings of sacrifice and disaster. The advancement of sanitary knowledge has seldom received a more decided testimony than when the next expedition was attempted in 1854. The river was ascended by the steamer 'Pleiad' to a distance of three hundred and sixty miles, and returned to England without the loss of a single life! Confidence was thus restored, and from that time to the present the greatest efforts have been made, and the greatest successes won in the field of African discovery. The cause of exploration was meanwhile advancing in other parts of the continent. Major Laing had again crossed the desert from Morocco, and reached Timbuctoo in 1826; but after leaving that city for the west, he was murdered by the savage natives. Rene Caillié, a French traveller, reached the same place from the Niger in 1828, and brought back, by way of Tangier, most interesting intelligence of a district, from which, though some had seen it, yet few had returned to tell their adventures. Davidson, in 1836, reached Timbuctoo, where he found a premature grave by a violent death.

In 1849, Mr. Richardson proceeded to the district around Lake Tsad, in order to arrange commercial treaties with the chiefs. He was joined by Drs. Barth and Overweg in 1850. These three travellers passed over regions where no European had ever been, and they made accurate surveys of a large territory. In the second year

year they divided their forces, and each took a separate route, to meet again at the capital of Bornoo. Alas! when within six days of the meeting-place, Mr. Richardson died. Drs. Barth and Overweg, however, continued their explorations, and travelled three hundred and fifty miles farther south. Dr. Overweg surveyed Lake Tsad in a boat. In the third year of their labours Overweg died; but Dr. Barth continued, and having received a reinforcement from England, pursued his researches. Throughout the period of six years, this accomplished traveller endured perils and privations, the heat of a burning sun, and absence from all civilized society, and returned to England in 1855. He has since been enabled to give to science and philanthropy the results of his hard-won acquirements in several volumes of very interesting adventures, full of valuable information.

The south of Africa was colonized by the Dutch in 1650; but little was done to explore the territory to the north, for a considerable period after that date. Missionary zeal has done most to open up this portion of Africa. Many stations were formed there in an early period of modern missionary zeal. 'To no part of the world,' says the author of the *History of Missions*, 'with the exception of India, have so many missionary societies directed so much attention as to South Africa. Hitherto the United Brethren, the London Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Paris Missionary Society, the Rhenish Missionary Society, the Berlin Missionary Society, the Norwegian Missionary Society, and the American Board of Foreign Missions have all sent missionaries; and the stations established by some of them have been numerous. It would be natural to conclude from this, that South Africa formed one of the fairest fields for missions which the world presents; and yet we scarcely know a single recommendation which it possesses. The population is at once small, scattered, uncivilized, unsettled, often wandering—poor, destitute, degraded. In a single town or inconsiderable district of many countries, a larger population may be found than in the whole region of South Africa which has been occupied by so many missionaries.'

But missionaries have not been without their success, notwithstanding the opposition of Dutch boers, the difficulties connected with a sparse population, and the mental and moral degradation of the people. With this, however, we have not at present to do, but with the labours of these apostolic men in the field of geographical discovery. Though great credit is due to the venerated Lichtenstein, Campbell, Moffat, and others, and to the scientific men who followed in their track, such as Dr. Smith, yet by far the highest place must be assigned to Dr. Livingstone, whose adventures have created a greater interest and obtained for himself

himself a greater sympathy and for his book a wider circulation than have been hitherto vouchsafed—at least since the days of Park. He occupied the most northern missionary station on the borders of the southern desert. In 1849, accompanied by Messrs. Oswell and Murray, he crossed the desert and entered a new territory well watered and thickly peopled. Following the course of the river Zouga for three hundred miles, they reached a magnificent expanse of water—Lake Ngami, 2,825 feet above the level of the sea. In 1851, Dr. Livingstone again went northward, and discovered two other rivers—the Chobi and Sheshekè. But in 1853-55 this energetic missionary attempted the bold design of journeying across the continent from Kilimane on the east to St. Paul de Loando on the west. The narrative of his adventures,—the confidence placed in him, and aid vouchsafed to him, by the Makololo,—the perils he endured,—the discoveries he made,—and the triumphant success which he achieved, must be fresh in the memory of our readers. It may be interesting to them to know that since his return he has been as untiring in zeal, and as successful in discovery as before.

'After a minute examination of the river (Zambesi), up to the Kabra besa rapids, he ascended the Shire, and, leaving the steamer at $16^{\circ} 2'$ S. lat., continued his journey to the Shirwa lake, the existence of which had not hitherto been known to Europeans. This lake has an elevation of 2,000 feet: it is surrounded by mountains, and said to be separated from the Nyanja, or Nyenyesi (Star Lake), by a narrow strip of land, only six miles wide: its waters are bitter, but drinkable. Later in the year, Dr. Livingstone traced the Shire river to the point where it flows from the Lake Nyenyesi (Nyanja, or Niasse), $14^{\circ} 23'$ S. lat., $35^{\circ} 30'$ E. long. From that point the lake appeared to stretch towards the N.N.W., and upon its horizon appeared an island.'

How much may result from Livingstone's travels and labours, it is premature to predict; but from his enlightened and Christian philanthropy, results advantageous to commerce and to human improvement are confidently anticipated.

Livingstone has not been the only traveller in the south and towards the centre. Captain Vardon, Messrs. Gassiot, Galton, Plant, and Andersson deserve honourable mention for their enterprise and success. On the east and west, Portuguese traders have long had settlements, but while acquainted with the surrounding districts have not added much to science.

It now remains for us to notice the progress of discovery in the east of the African continent. Egypt had an early place in history. Nubia and Abyssinia being contiguous were also well known, but from the latter country to the south, and towards the interior, little was understood till within a very few years. The person who has added most to geographical science in this quarter of Africa is Dr. Krapf, also a missionary. During a residence of eighteen years he had ample opportunity of making explorations, and he availed himself of these to the full. In the year 1843, he published

published a journal of his own proceedings along with those of Mr. Isenberg, his fellow-missionary in the kingdom of Shoa, in which many interesting details of information regarding Abyssinia were given. But the same indefatigable missionary and traveller, having made many journeys into equatorial Africa since that period, has just now given to the public the account of his labours and discoveries. 'Whilst Dr. Livingstone was proceeding from the south towards the coast of Mozambique, Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann were advancing from the north to the same point. The discoveries of Dr. Livingstone, no less than those of Dr. Krapf, may almost be said to have formed a junction at Cape Delgado. Indeed, the travellers approached each other within five degrees, the small section of the coast not visited by either being confined within 10° and 15° southern latitude.'

The coast line of the east was surveyed in 1822-26 by Capt. Owen, and by M. Guillain in 1847-48; but 'the inland exploration of that part of Eastern Africa,' says Mr. Ravenstein, 'may be dated from the time when Dr. Krapf, of the Church Missionary Society, established himself at Rabba Mpia, near Mombay (1844), a place which subsequently became the starting-point for several journeys into the interior, undertaken by himself and fellow-labourers.' * * * 'Dr. Krapf explored the whole of the coast from Cape Gardafui to Cape Delgado for objects connected with the mission. The most remarkable results obtained by these journeys is *the discovery of several mountains covered with perennial snow*, a discovery which can only be denied if we assume the missionaries to be capable of deliberately advancing false statements.' The interesting intelligence communicated by these travellers induced the Royal Geographical Society to send out an expedition to examine more minutely, and with scientific accuracy, to which the missionaries did not pretend. Captain Burton and Captain Speke—travellers well acquainted with desert experience and the East—were selected for this, and they went forth in 1857. The full information of their travels is just issued from the press, as is also a new volume on the 'Sources of the Nile,' by Dr. Beke, who has made many explorations in that region.*

Following the example of Dr. Livingstone, to whose volume the one before us is an appropriate sequel, Dr. Krapf has prefixed an autobiographical chapter to the narrative of his travels. He was born at Derendingen, a village near Tübingen, in 1810, and, amidst some difficulties, acquired an education fitting him for the Church. His attention was early attracted to travel by the work of Bruce, and he resolved to pursue his youthful fancy by the

* On some of the disputed points the reader is referred to the appendices of Dr. Krapf's volume, to Burton's, and other records.

dedication of his manhood to missionary work in foreign lands. In 1837 he set out for Abyssinia, as the agent of the Church Missionary Society, and he arrived at his destination in the month of December. For some time he resided in Shoa, whose king was Sahela Selassie, with whom many of our readers are already familiar from Major Harris's 'Highlands of Ethiopia.' This gallant officer visited Shoa on a political mission during the early part of Dr. Krapf's residence there, and was much indebted to the excellent missionary, both as interpreter with the Abyssinian court, and for the information respecting the country and people, which was afterwards woven into the interesting volumes published by him. It is well when information published by casual visitors respecting unknown countries is procured from so trustworthy a source. Dr. Krapf mentions a case which contrasts with this. A French gentleman, M. Rochet, came to Abyssinia, and was anxious to reach the source of the river Hawash. He was not able to prevail upon the king to allow his men to aid him in the enterprise, and had to return without the discovery.

'In spite of this,' says our author, 'in the book of travels which he afterwards published, M. Rochet asserted that he had seen the sources of the Hawash, and that the king had sent an escort to accompany him thither. Both assertions are completely false. Alas! such unconscious statements are too common on the part of travellers, who huddle up a book, and obtain honours and emoluments at the expense of geographical truth. M. Rochet once said to me, in the course of that expedition, "M. Krapf, we must assert that we have seen the sources of the Hawash." When I replied that that would not be true, and that we had not seen them, he rejoined, with a smile, "Oh! we must be *philosophes!*"'

The country of Shoa forms the Ethiopian Highlands, and extends two degrees from the Adal to the Blue River, from east to west, and about the same from the river Hawash on the north to the fortress Dair on the south. The population is about a million. The government is an absolute monarchy. The religion is Christian, according to the Coptic faith, with a regular priesthood and liturgy. The clergy are, however, very ignorant; all the attainments for holy orders being an ability to read and to repeat the Nicene Creed. 'The duties of the priest are to baptize, to administer the Eucharist, and on Sundays to read and sing the long litanies for three or four hours.' The literature is but scanty, containing about one hundred and thirty or perhaps one hundred and fifty books, which, except the version of the Holy Scriptures, consist of translations from the Greek fathers. The general doctrines of the Christian religion are professed, but various dogmas of human origin are mixed up with them. They admit only one nature and one will in the person of Christ. Many believe the Virgin Mary to have died for the sins of the world and to have saved 144,000 souls. They have had controversies, by which they are still divided, respecting the birth of Christ,

Christ, one party maintaining that he had three births—‘ Begotten of the Father before all worlds (first birth), became man in time (second birth), and was baptized in Jordan (third birth). The party which acknowledged only two births got their view made an article of faith by royal ordinance some twenty years ago. Fasting is very rigidly practised in Abyssinia for nine months of the year ; but ‘ immorality is the order of the day, and even priests and monks break the seventh commandment.’ Concubinage is common, the king having five hundred wives. Slavery, too, prevails, and superstition has a stronger hold of the people than the Christian faith. Among a population such as this Christianity needs a new mission, and a thorough reformation must succeed the introduction of a purer faith.

The chief interest of Dr. Krapf’s well-written and fascinating volume consists in the narratives of his travels through the unexplored countries to the south. Thither we shall now proceed with him for the instruction and entertainment of our readers. From a slave attached to his service by the King of Shoa, he obtained a curious account of a race of Troglodytes, called Dokos, who are only four feet high and dwell in a very sultry and humid country with many bamboo woods.

‘ They have a dark, olive-coloured complexion, and live in a completely savage state, like the beasts ; having neither houses, temples, nor holy trees, yet possessing something like an idea of a higher being, called Yer, to whom, in moments of wretchedness and anxiety, they pray—not in an erect posture, but reversed, with the head on the ground, and the feet supported upright against a tree or a stone. In prayer they say :—“ Yer, if thou really dost exist, why dost thou allow us to be thus slain ? We do not ask thee for food and clothing ; for we live as serpents, ants, and mice. Thou hast made us ; why dost thou permit us to be trodden under foot ? ” The Dokos have no chief, no laws, no weapons ; they do not hunt, nor till the ground, but live solely on fruits, roots, mice, serpents, nuts, honey, and the like ; climbing the trees and gathering the fruits like monkeys ; and both sexes go completely naked. They have thick, protruding lips, flat noses, and small eyes : the hair is not woolly, and is worn by the women over the shoulders. The nails on the hands and feet are allowed to grow like the talons of vultures, and are used in digging for ants, and in tearing to pieces the serpents, which they devour raw ; for they are unacquainted with fire. The spine of the snake is the only ornament worn round the neck ; but they pierce the ears with a sharp-pointed piece of wood.

‘ The Dokos multiply very rapidly, but have no regular marriages, the intercourse of the sexes leading to no settled home, each in perfect independence going whither fancy leads. The mother nurses her child only for a short time, accustoming it as soon as possible to the eating of ants and serpents ; and, as soon as the child can help itself, the mother lets it depart whither it pleases. Although these people live in thick woods, yet they become the prey of the slave-hunters of Susa, Kaffa, Dumbaro, and Kulla ; for whole regions of their woods are encircled by their hunters, so that the Dokos cannot easily escape. When the slave-hunters come in sight of the poor creatures, they hold up clothes of bright colours, singing and dancing, upon which the Dokos allow themselves to be captured, without resistance, knowing from experience that resistance is fruitless, and can lead only to their destruction. In this way thousands can be captured by a small band of hunters ; and once captured, they become quite docile.’

This is a most remarkable description, and we are somewhat astonished

astonished that Dr. Krapf did not make an effort to prove its correctness, by actually visiting the pigmy race. He saw only one who corresponded to the above account in stature ; but he heard of them from neighbouring nations. It is to be hoped that fuller information may soon be derived regarding so singular a people, whose existence, if true, must prove old Herodotus to be more credible than many have supposed. Such a people, too, may be more accessible to the influence of kindness and instruction than their more civilized neighbours. The Karens of Burmah have received the gospel with more gladness, and in larger numbers than the more polished Burmese. The South Sea islanders have been more rapidly evangelized than a people like the Hindoos, with ancient forms of religion, an organized priesthood, and sacred books.

South of Shoa is the nation of the Gallas, who have taken possession of a large portion of Eastern Africa. They are separated into many tribes independent of each other, but they have a common language. They extend 'from the eighth degree of north to the third degree of south latitude, numbering, on the whole, from six to eight millions, an amount of which scarcely any other race can boast.' Dr. Krapf therefore considers them one of the most important nations for a mission, as the field is large and opportunities numerous. The Gallas are a superior people, and many tribes lead an agricultural life, and are possessed of considerable wealth. Their land is fertile and its climate healthy, and fitted for European enterprise and colonization. The Gallas are heathen, and have certain religious ceremonies which are paid under the shade of a spreading tree. They have no idols, which, indeed, none of the East Africans have. 'This circumstance,' says Dr. Krapf, 'on the one hand presupposes a very ancient paganism, and on the other, shows that the East Africans are more occupied with temporal than with spiritual wants and interests. They are so devoted to the service of the belly, as not to trouble themselves much about gods and their worship. The fear of evil spirits is not wanting among these heathen nations, and this has led them to the idea of the necessity of an atonement, and to the ceremonial of sacrifice.' They do not offer up human beings as sacrifice to their gods, which is done by the people of Senjero. 'The slave-dealers always throw a beautiful female into the lake Umo, when they leave Senjero with their human wares ; and many families, too, must offer up their first-born sons as sacrifices, because once upon a time, when summer and winter were jumbled together in a bad season, and the fruits of the field would not ripen, the soothsayers enjoined it.' In the interior the worthy missionary was once in danger of being sacrificed, because there had been no rain; and again he was almost deified because of a sudden fall of rain.

During

During the year 1842, Dr. Krapf repaired to the coast, for the purpose of furthering his missionary work among the heathen tribes, and for aiding the progress of new labourers on their way to join him. A personal object had also its attraction, his intention of marrying a young lady of Basel, who had agreed to share his labours and perils. This journey was rendered very unpleasant by treachery of professed friends, by robbery and imprisonment. He however, reached Egypt, and consummated his marriage. On his return by Zanzibar to the intended scene of his labours, he had the misfortune to lose his wife and child, and to be himself severely prostrated by disease. On the restoration of his health he made excursions into the Wanika land, and acquired the Suahili language. Among the Wanika he established himself at a station called Rabbai Mpia, which was the centre of his missionary operations and of his travels. Here he had the gratification of welcoming as a colleague the Rev. Mr. Rebmann, who shared his labours and his explorations with an ardour and enthusiasm akin to his own. In the journals written at that period, very much interesting information is given, both of the untiring efforts of the missionaries to promote their holy mission, and of the manners and customs of the people. Dr. Krapf mentions the following as an index of past and future :—

‘ January 11, 1848.—To-day the completion of my English-Suahili and Kinika Dictionary closes a long and troublesome labour. My task will now be, (1) to make a copy of this dictionary ; (2) to continue my translation of the New Testament, and of Dr. Barth’s “Bible Stories ;” (3) to make daily an excursion to the plantations of the Wanika, and preach to them ; (4) to instruct such Wanika children as wish for instruction ; (5) to address the Wanika of the district, and to devote myself to those who visit us at our home from far and near ; and (6) from time to time to make journeys into the interior, in order to become acquainted with its geographical and ethnological peculiarities and languages ; preaching the gospel as far as can be done on these journeys, and thus pave the way for the mission into the interior, when we shall have received more fellow-labourers from Europe.’

In 1850 Dr. Krapf returned for the first time to Europe, to advocate his views of the mission, and to get his Suahili grammar, and a comparative vocabulary of six African languages printed. He returned in the spring of 1851, and commenced anew. He was, however, obliged, on account of his health, to return to Europe in 1853. In the succeeding year he proceeded by way of Jerusalem and Egypt, to resume his labours. Fever, sun-stroke, and fatigue so prostrated him, that when at Cairo it became evident that he could no longer labour in Africa. He therefore resigned his office in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and retired to Basel, where he fills the situation of Secretary to the Chrishona Society. He has not yet relinquished the idea of being useful to Africa, for in the volume before us there is a proposal for the establishment of a chain of twelve stations, to be called the Apostles’

Apostles' Street, each with the name of an apostle,* to stretch from Alexandria to Gondar, fifty leagues apart, and thence to branch out to the interior. Such a means of evangelization, while mutually strengthening to the labourer, would, it is believed, tend greatly to introduce the gospel, with the accompanying blessing of civilization, into the centre of Africa.

Dr. Krapf, in the second part of his excellent volume, has given journals of the journeys made by Mr. Rebmann and by himself into various parts of the interior. His own share includes notices of two journeys to Usambara, and two to Ukambani, both of which lie to the north-east of Zanzibar, also a journey to Cape Delgado in the south. The third part of his work is occupied with geography, topography, and history of Eastern Africa, which will amply reward the perusal of the reader. We can do no more than give a few extracts. While in Ukambani, our author was exposed to much danger and privation. He was attacked by robbers, and obliged to flee solitarily among the woods. His hunger was so great, that he 'tried to chew leaves, roots, and elephants' excrement to stay it,' and to feast upon ants. Even the powder for his gun he mixed with young shoots of a tree and ate; but this increased his thirst. Anticipating water, he would dig into the moist sand, but finding none, he filled his mouth with the sand, only to parch his tongue the more. What a boon was water to this weary pilgrim, and what a consolation woman's kindness! These were accompanied with new dangers. While he lay at one village, he learned that a plot was forming for his murder, and he had again to seek safety in flight. In his erratic and dangerous course he was well-nigh mistaken for a wild hog by some of the Wakamba. At length, after many adventures, hair-breadth escapes, and great sufferings, he reached Rabbai Mpia, where his friends were lamenting his death.

* The facts and results of this journey to Ukambani, in its relation to the missionaries and their operations, may be summed up as follows:—As the route to Ukambani is an extremely dangerous one, partly on account of the Gallas, and partly and chiefly on account of the robbers of Kilima-Kebomu, and as the gross superstition, and still more the lawlessness and anarchy, the faithlessness, capriciousness, and greed of the Wakamba are very great, a permanent residence among them must be a very unsafe and doubtful enterprise.

* * * *

' Like the other East African tribes, the Wakamba have a feeble idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Mulungu; and like those other tribes, too, they have no idols, and are not degraded to Fetish worship; but as they have no religious requirements they are wholly sunk in materialism, and have but few notions of religion itself. . . . Recently slavery has made great way among the Wakamba.'

Dr. Krapf's volume is remarkably well written—much better,

* We observe the second at Cairo is to be called St. Mark, and the third St. Luke! The twelve apostles will not get room in the street if these saints obtain the first places!

indeed, than Dr. Livingstone's. Its novelty is scarcely less, and from the record which it gives of the labours, perils, and discoveries of the author, will secure for him an honourable place among those who have aided the opening of Africa to the knowledge of Englishmen, both for commerce and for missionary enterprise. The commerce of Africa is capable of very great extension. Meantime the city of Hamburg carries on as much as the whole of that vast continent. The exports do not exceed 20,000,000*l.*, and the imports scarcely reach 18,000,000*l.*, that is, only 2*s.* 8*d.* per head of a population numbering 150,000,000. But should the attention of our merchants be more devoted to this part of the world, and a philanthropic spirit move them, we might receive from that quarter a very large supply of the cotton for which we are now so dependent on America, while other branches of commerce would receive proportionate extension. The civilization of so many tribes must create a large demand for articles of English manufacture. It is evident that France has an eye upon the east coast; and our Government may learn too late the importance of keeping up friendly relations, and promoting trade on that side of the continent contiguous to our own East Indian empire.

Geographical discovery presents new claims to the friends of missions. The nations which have been brought to light by Livingstone and by Krapf, and who are veiled in the darkness and degradation of heathenism, appeal by their wretchedness to our sympathies and prayers and Christian philanthropy, to send to them the same gospel which has done so much to make our own land at once enlightened, civilized, and free.

- ART. V.—1. *Our Plague Spot.* London: T. C. Newby. 1859.
2. *Dr. Acton on Prostitution.* Churchill. 1857.
3. *The London by Moonlight Mission.* By Lieut. Blackmore, R.N. Robson and Avery. 1860.

THE pages of ancient history relate that even before the reign of idolatry, and while man yet adored the true God, there existed both polygamy and public profligacy. In this, the nineteenth century of Christianity, the sad fact has still to be recorded, that sins of the like nature abound, differing in name and in form, yet essentially the same dark, desolating vices as disgraced the heathen world. Throughout the ages, these vices, seductive yet repulsive, have unquestionably given rise to the greatest disorder that has ever beset the race. The very magnitude of the evil, at times, has enforced a temporary cure, or its excess induced a reaction, only to burst out afresh, till people after people fell beneath the outrage against nature, for such it is, and not the 'necessary evil' it is too often named.

Women were called syrens by satirists, animals by philosophers, and poets rhapsodized of the fatal gift of beauty as their sole heaven-descended endowment, while monasticism endeavoured to bring heaven upon earth by the institution of celibacy. Meanwhile men degraded women, even when they were the objects of their highest affections ; and if women, through participation in sin, degraded themselves, it has not been without retaliation, however much this fact may be ignored. Were it not so, it would be in opposition to the divine law of just and not to be avoided retribution ! Amidst a multitude of proofs that might be cited throughout centuries in confirmation of this law, a startling fact of the present day may be referred to, in connection with one of our highest seats of learning ; namely, that for every additional unfortunate woman introduced into the town, a student has departed this life, or has been for ever incapacitated from pursuing his career.

The subject is so painful, so dreary, the evil of such long endurance, and so widely spread, that one is ready to exclaim, ‘It is ineradicable !’ Seeing that, like other evils, it perpetuates and intensifies itself, it becomes forgotten that it is not the *nature* of humanity that commits the excess, but the abuse of that nature. With an increase of power and wealth, luxury is also on the increase, and with it the vice in question ; and to such an extent as no longer to be overlooked with safety to society. Whether for good or for evil, matters are now publicly canvassed, spoken of, and written of, which some years back would only have been whispered about in private. The black shadow of an avenging social Nemesis stretches far and wide over the land. Our moral atmosphere gives out poison, and the cry now is, How can the pestilence be arrested ? Before the dangers that threaten to overwhelm us as a nation, false sentimentalism stands mute ; and even women are asked to come forward and try if *they* cannot aid in the restoration of purer morals, and a higher standard of social virtue, by stretching out a helping hand to the fallen of their own sex.

In some shape or other a spectre of this monster vice is met with everywhere. No household is safe against its intrusion ; rich and poor are alike visited by it, and, what is worse than all, the innocent suffer as well as the guilty. Not in vain were the words of warning written—‘The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children down to the third or fourth generation.’ Divine laws cannot be altered to suit the sins or caprices of human beings ; and therefore those who are wise, seek the prevention of vice rather than its cure—cure in many, nay, we may say in the majority of cases, becoming after a certain period of excess, next to impossible.

As yet little has been done in this direction, the direction of arresting the evil before its poisoned fangs have seized the victim.

Neither

Neither has much been accomplished in the way of cure, notwithstanding the immense sums annually expended for the purpose. We moralize to the few women who can be got to listen—tell them they are lost, fallen creatures ; yet men are not admonished to rise from *their* low and degraded condition : thus it becomes difficult to legislate for one sex while the other is left to follow out its own devices. We prepare refuges wherein women may hide themselves and repent ; we enact certain not very stringent penalties against those who trade in obtaining the victims to be sacrificed on the altars of impurity ; we thrust the latter from the highways out of sight, or propose sanitary regulations in hospitals, and such-like remedies. All these measures are directed against the poorest, most wretched, and most numerous class of these miserable women ; the others are left alone, their larger pecuniary gains, and better concealed mode of life, serving to secure them from intrusion, though these by no means are the less dangerous or less vicious members of society. A celebrated medical authority, some years since, stated his conviction that not more than one man in a thousand escaped the ordeal ; and it would be comparatively well could it be asserted that only youths and unmarried men thus gave way to temptation. The effects upon descendants are already apparent, and unless the evil is checked, not only must the present generation, but succeeding ones ; suffer in augmenting ratio in body and in mind. In the discussion of this question, glancing at the enormous statistics which prove the widely-spread and deeply-seated evil, philanthropists ask for a remedy which shall obliterate or greatly modify it, without sufficiently inquiring into the causes that have produced its fatal increase, causes which, if left still in operation, must continue to feed it, and so defeat the best efforts to obtain a cure. As might be expected, it assumes its most glaring appearance in our large cities where luxury abounds ; in our manufacturing districts where numbers are congregated, and wherever sailors and soldiers are found ; also wherever the surplus numbers of poor, unemployed women are greatest.

In the agricultural as well as in the manufacturing districts another twin evil is equally present and likewise in rapid increase. Illegitimate children are so numerous that infanticide is practised to a fearful extent, and concubinage riots so openly, that not long ago one of our quarterly reviewers recommended that such connections should be recognized as legal, and the parties received by society as good members thereof, since there seemed no other way of dealing with them ! A dangerous compromise ! to lower the standard of morals to the level of the sinning members of the community, instead of endeavouring to raise them in the scale of ascension.

In all old and long-established countries there is a tendency to a surplus of women ; the result of war, male emigration, and other causes. At this moment we have upwards of three quarters of a million of such a surplus, and this in daily increase. These women unless they emigrate cannot get married ; and to this embarrassing fact must be added another, namely, their poverty from want of remunerative employment ; and what is still less understood or attended to (as a cause most productive of evil results), is their ignorance and want of self-respect, as well as the want of respect in men for them. There is likewise in the youth of the present day a precocity which is unfavourable to virtue ; while the remedy proposed for this, by early marriages, cannot be resorted to at such immature years without impairing the stamina both of parents and of children. It is asserted, moreover, that morals and religion have so little sway in the matter, that to prevent, or at least ameliorate the evil to a certain extent, attention should rather be directed to render it pecuniarily unprofitable. A very extraordinary state of affairs, surely, is this in a Christian country.

It is stated that there are above half a million of unfortunate women in the kingdom, and that about twenty millions sterling are spent annually amongst them. Nearly forty thousand of these victims die every year, either from disease, starvation, or by committing suicide ; while above seventy thousand illegitimate children are born yearly, and, as before mentioned, there are infanticides innumerable. These are a few of the statistics of one particular form of this vice, and many others follow in dark succession.

It is not desirable, in a paper such as this, to follow the evil in all its ramifications ; ramifications so manifold and intricate, that volumes might be filled with the miserable details resulting from this one root of sin. A few prominent facts are sufficient to enable the thoughtful reader to form at least some conception of the formidable network which is entangling so many of both sexes in its fatal meshes.

The system so prevalent of preferring unmarried young men as clerks or shopkeepers is destructive of virtue, as well as the fact that few of our soldiers or sailors can have wives. All this adds to the difficulty of providing husbands for our young women, consequently temptations to form illegal alliances are manifold.

Another painful aspect of this social chaos is the fact, that even in those towns where at our highest seats of learning the youth of England are expected to add virtue to knowledge, the amount of these unhappy women is fearfully large.

Mr. Commissioner Mayne informs us that in London there are 5,000 houses of bad repute ; and other credible authorities give statements

statements of like proportions with regard to all our large cities and towns elsewhere. Of the occupants, and women in connection with these infamous resorts, a large proportion are known to the police as thieves, and nearly all at one time or other indulge largely in drink ; indeed, they are rarely sober, as without this excitement these miserable women aver that they could not continue their dreadful mode of life. Nor can any one marvel that they thus seek to drown consciousness and conscience.

In 'Our Plague Spot,' a voluminous work lately published on the subject, wherein a vast array of facts are quoted from various sources, and of various kinds, it is mentioned that in London alone there are about 400 trepanners, men and women, whose demon-like occupation it is to look out for, and lay hold of, fair young victims, not to immolate them at one sure blow on blood-stained altars as of old, when sacrificial knife, or deadly stroke from priest or priestess soon gave swift and speedy death, but to lure them to lingering horrors by golden promises of ease and luxury.

The income of the 5,000 keepers of bagnios is reckoned to yield them a yearly profit of about 1,000*l.* each. Some of the inmates obtain from twenty to thirty pounds weekly, others perhaps not ten shillings ; and if their wretched gains do not satisfy their masters or mistresses, they are thrust out of doors almost naked, and left a prey to wretchedness and death. One of these mistresses left at her death 20,000*l.* to her daughter, a proof that her patrons assuredly had neither poverty nor ignorance to plead in excuse for their transgressions against the moral law and their defiance of the divine command to abstain from all im-purity.

It has been well remarked that with all our good feelings towards women as a sex, we are strangely indifferent, if not callous to the sufferings of a large portion of them, the slaves and outcasts of society. One fact alone is sufficient to prove that what is lightly called a necessary evil, is, on the contrary, a sinful disobedience ; the *average life of these victims lasts only four years* after entering upon their miserable career. Were we equally aware of the number of young men who are swept off within a like period, or of those who linger out a longer life, suffering and enervated, we should probably be startled. At the age of twenty-three or twenty-five, by far the greater number of the most wretched class find an early grave ; but before descending into which, these forms often of dazzling beauty become such breathing deformities as the eye cannot look on without a shudder. But the evil does not end with the death of the evil-doer, offspring legitimate as well as illegitimate, bear witness throughout their lives (in their pre-disposition to the same vices, or the inheritance of injured constitutions) to their parent's deeds of sin. Much of the insanity now

now upon the increase in this country is to be traced to the existence of this evil.

If the heathen transcend us in deifying their vices, in making them part of a religious ceremony, what shall be said of professed Christians going through the same orgies, in mockery, as it were, of the Divine command, and in defiance of penalties the most dire that have ever been pronounced against the race?

A popular writer of fiction (or rather of truth under its guise,) remarks that the present age has produced a class of women peculiarly its own—adventureuses, who are not out of place in our enumeration of immorality. These women, however they begin life, usually manage to secure husbands before they advance far in their career, and are thus better able to mystify their antecedents than their less artful sisters ; they make dupes of those who marry them, and even succeed in imposing upon society. Their numbers, compared with the others, are few, but they also are rapidly increasing ; and whether (as the ‘Quarterly Review’ rather broadly hinted some years ago) our lawful domestic life is becoming more and more dull, from the very fact of its being on the part of women so circumscribed, or whether, under a civilization verging towards the ultra, men require attentions beyond those that wives feel disposed to give, certain it is that the tastes of many men lead them to prefer such women, though in the end they pay dearly for their choice, even when their eyes are not opened to its distortion.

Certain fundamental defects in the remedies tried, hitherto overlooked or gainsaid, seem to be the reason why those remedial measures already in operation produce such meagre results. Up to a very recent period, or it may be said up to the present hour, efforts have been directed rather to the cure than the prevention of the evil, and directed only to one sex. Assuredly within such limits as these, all efforts will continue abortive, for were every fallen woman in the land securely lodged within the walls of a penitentiary to-day, we should have the streets paraded to-morrow by hosts of relapsed revellers and fresh recruits.

In vain shall we attempt to rescue the one sex from evil if the other is to be held scathless, and permitted to go on drawing the innocent into the vortex. The entire precepts of the Gospel run counter to such false distinctions and such false teachings, and we must express our conviction, that in the majority of cases, in the first instance, women are not the tempters but the tempted.

It is an accepted truth, that evil habits are more easily prevented than forsaken when once acquired ; nay, it is certain that after a time it is not in the power of the victim to reform. Were there not one fallen woman left, how long, it may be asked, would the

the victims escape seduction or bribery, or be left free to choose a pure life?

At the meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in October, 1858, along with the paper read by Mr. Acton on this subject, there was another read by Mr. Caine on 'The Evils and Accessories of Prostitution,' but not included in the annual volume of the transactions of that society. The subject of Mr. Caine's paper was on the character of certain establishments licensed for plausible purposes in our large towns and even in our villages, but which offered special *attractions* for the immoral of both sexes, the law in reference to their prevention, and the laxity of its administration. He considered these establishments to be, in reality, more for the purposes of assignation, as resorts of bad characters, and marts for those infamous traders, who sought there to find victims, than anything else. He also noticed, as injurious to public morals, the national jealousy of what is called 'infringing on the liberty of the subject!' Why in such cases the liberty of the subject should not be infringed upon and curtailed, we do not see, and agree with Mr. Caine on this point. A freedom and a liberty that injures and demoralizes thousands, is no longer liberty but licence to do evil, and for which licence, rulers must in some degree, be held accountable at the bar of justice. We do not, however, concur in the opinion expressed that 'the greater number of women take up this vile pursuit deliberately and designedly, and follow it just as long as it yields pleasure or profit, and when either of these cease they give it up.' The profits and pleasures here alluded to are the property of the very few; while the number, after a brief riot, pursue the rest of their sad career amidst ill-usage, excitement from drink, and other horrors. It is those who traffic in them who get by far the larger share of their gains.

No doubt, evil passions, love of dress, dishonesty, and idleness, drive many into evil courses; but the numbers who thus, it may be said, sacrifice themselves, are as nothing compared to the vastly greater numbers who sink into these depths from seduction, ill-paid work, and no work at all; from the ill treatment or carelessness of masters and mistresses, ignorance alike of religion and morals, bad example, want of parental discipline, the small encouragement given to virtue, and last though not least, the constant temptations held out by the male members of society. Mr. Caine justly condemns the lounge of the theatre, the casino, the dancing-saloons, free concerts, and supper-rooms; especially dancing-saloons frequented by servants and shopwomen, who there encounter the dissolute and designing of both sexes. The laxity of the law is also complained of, with regard to irregular public-houses and its more rigid enforcement urged.

Miss Carpenter, who takes such interest in reformatories, states it also as her opinion that these dancing-saloons have been the ruin of many young girls, as several who came to the reformatory confessed to her, that it was by attending these places of amusement that they were first enticed into sin.

One disgraceful fact in connection with this humiliating subject must not be omitted, as stated by the Rev. Father Nugent at the same meeting, 'that workwomen were often victimized by late overhours' work, when they were plied with strong coffee, and infamous books read to them, in order to make them work quicker!'

Various plans have been from time to time suggested by benevolent persons who have taken interest in those who nine times out of ten are more sinned against than sinning.

Mr. Kinnaird, M.P., advocates reading-rooms, and other means for relaxation as well as for instruction. Another gentleman wishes that the name and address of every man who owns a saloon or bagnio were published in the newspapers, in order thus to be shamed out of such modes of money-making; and adds, 'that it would astonish people to know who some of these men are, holding outwardly, as they do, respectable positions in society.'

Those whose trade it is to aid in degrading their fellow-creatures, think no evil of such practices, and pocket their gains without a scruple. Neither are they regarded by the more conscientious members of society with that abhorrence and reprobation which a purer morality would demand.

It is not necessary, as we before remarked, to amplify details while writing on so painful a theme. We would spare our readers the sad task of going over the reports from various parts of the kingdom; the sum total of all the statistics supplied resulting in the one mournful fact, that everywhere impurity is rampant; publicly in the highways of cities, as well as in concealed retreats. 'It is difficult,' says one writer on the subject, 'to attain an accurate knowledge of the amount of public profligacy, but still more difficult to trace the extent of private or clandestine evil, the inquiries of the police being limited to the open and acknowledged houses of bad repute.' This writer, however, estimates the numbers of private and better maintained women as even greater than those of the openly dissolute; and mentions that manufactory girls and others are partly maintained by their wages, and partly by the remuneration obtained from a vicious mode of life. He also states that by far the greater proportion of those who have been rescued from the streets were unable to read or write, and were otherwise deplorably ignorant. Among other causes tending to mischief is 'the want of proper parental discipline,' and this cause has certainly been too much overlooked in the

the present day. Parental control is seldom or ever hinted at. Boys and girls, long before they have reached what used to be called 'the years of discretion,' now throw off all authority; and from this contempt of parental, or, indeed, of any control, come forth irreverence, self-will, insolence, and vice.

In the lower ranks of society, parents unfortunately are not often found able to train up their children in the fear and love of God, and in the way they ought to walk. This duty is left, in their case, to the schoolmaster and the pastor. Among the middle class, a perverse theory of governing by love, has been taken up, to the ruin of many children, who when grown up have shown nothing but the evils which ought in childhood to have been checked. Were it, in truth, a system of love it might be commended, but it is only a counterfeit and a system of easy indulgence on the part of parents. The highest and purest love sees that correction is sometimes imperative for the good of the human being; and this duty being left unperformed, the disappointed parents are often the first to suffer from the waywardness of both sons and daughters. Another vicious fashion is the practice of dressing up young girls—mere children, we may say—in the fantastic manner now in vogue, and parading them about the streets, as if each mother were bent on outdoing her neighbour in the matter of feathers, hoops, long flowing hair, and gay colours. In what is this vain show to end? Do mothers ever think to what this fostering of vanity and love of dress may lead? this inordinate desire for finery?

In manufacturing towns, where girls are largely employed in factories, the lack of proper superintendence is another fertile source of evil. This is now being attended to, and in some of our large mills educated women are earnestly active in looking after the morals, and aiding the young women under their care, to acquire habits conducive in various ways to their well-doing. It is scarcely necessary to point to intemperance as another fruitful cause, for although few girls take first to drinking and then to an impure life, yet nine out of ten of the corrupted maintain, as we have already observed, that without stimulants it would be impossible to carry on their wretched calling; indeed, these women are seldom thoroughly sober; and in an incredibly short space of time an ungovernable fondness for this fire-poison seizes hold of them, and hence the great difficulty of permanent reform. Nearly all who have been rescued have been so saved at an early stage of their downward course. Lastly, there are the wiles of the seducer, who, the better to succeed in his vile lies, employs intoxicating draughts, with which he plies his victim. One writer on this subject is of opinion 'that seduction, in nearly every case, has more or less to do with the first departure from virtue,' and in this opinion we agree.

Seduction

Seduction is practised in a multiplicity of forms by all ranks and in all classes ; practised even in quarters where one would least expect it, and positive encouragement held out to vice, while the inexorably virtuous young girl has been put to a kind of work, at which, with the utmost exertion, but inadequate wages are earned. These are sad facts, but true as sad, and vouched for by men whose business it has been to investigate these matters, and bring forward such dark doings to the light of day.

As prevention is better than cure—especially when cures are of rare occurrence, and when the convict or penitent costs the country or the philanthropist sums so vast—the author of the volume at the head of this article urges the attention of the legislature, the clergy, and the social reformer, to use all means, moral and legal, to obtain this desired end.

The pulpit is called upon to reprove, rebuke, and exhort ; the social and moral reformer to provide proper amusements for the people, more ample and suitable accommodation for the poor by improved dwellings, and likewise instruction to parents and children on their duties to each other and to society. The aid of the State is demanded to alter and amend laws whereby temptations may be removed, before which the thoughtless perish. Gin-palaces, beer-houses, dancing-saloons, bagnios, &c. &c., are spoken of as they can only be spoken of by every one who anxiously seeks to avert judgment and retribution for this colossal vice, which, as another writer says, ‘ devours almost undisturbed the flower and hope of mankind.’

It is suggested that greater facilities should be given for the purpose of marriage both in the army and navy. Colonization in India, and purchase of waste lands, on which only married men should be employed.

Female emigration is another remedy which may be mentioned : hitherto it has been but little attended to, and side by side with it is the extension of employments for those large numbers of women who must work or starve.

Something is now being done by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and by the Society for the Employment of Women, towards the instruction of young women and girls in certain branches of trade, hitherto closed against them. It were much to be desired that greater publicity were given to these movements, and the public thoroughly awakened to the necessity of an improved education, tending to diminish that love of display and idle attraction, such fertile causes of mischief, as well as to increase a desire for honest self-dependence, and greater self-respect.

The immense sums spent in efforts to reclaim the vicious would go far to prepare numbers of young women for honest trades, or even

even to give small portions to the deserving as capital wherewith to commence business.

The refuges now existing, and others proposed, for female destitute children, will likewise be a means of diminishing this evil, provided these children are properly educated and trained to work. But habits of industry and self-control must be formed in them, before they are let loose, at comparatively early years, to encounter the temptations sure to meet them, when beyond the sheltering walls of school or of refuge.

Sanitary measures, as commended by Dr. Acton, would likewise aid in checking some of the hideous features of this gigantic vice. Into these we shall not enter. Those of our readers who, in the spirit of charity, seek fuller information than is needful to be given in this article, can consult the works we have mentioned, and various others by medical men, who have of late directed their attention to the subject.

Evil of any kind, it may be granted, is not to be put down by legislation; but if legislation declines to interfere at all, it assuredly indirectly connives at it. In the case of the greater number, unless they are reformed within a very few years, nay, it may be said months, reformation is scarcely within their power; while, even if penitent and morally improved, the disordered state of their nervous system, and the great diminution of their muscular power, render them a mere wreck of their former selves. This holds good in the case of men as well as of women who forsake to any extent the healthful paths of virtue.

Hitherto a few almost unknown and ill-paid missionaries have had to wage war single-handed with this hydra-headed enemy. Lately, others have joined them—Christian men, as well as pious workers of the other sex, who feel that deeds and not words are the best exponents of faith; and now aid is openly asked from all quarters, as it is in vain any longer to deny that our morals are a disgrace to a nation calling itself Christian, and hourly boasting of its greatness. Great it may be in outward seeming, prosperous in merchandise, rich in gold and silver, yet poor in that righteousness which alone can exalt. There is a triad of evils to battle against—luxury, licentiousness, and deception. The time is surely come of which it was said ‘that no man would speak the truth to his neighbour.’ Trust and confidence seem alike crushed.

No one can assert that external pressure, or outward remedies, will ever effect a radical cure of moral evil. This can only be done by the power of religion speaking from within the sinner’s heart; nevertheless wise laws ought to lend their aid, by removing, as far as possible, temptations from the paths of the thoughtless or unwaried, and by bringing the tempter and the fallen within the reach of that divine influence.

The experience of those who for years have persevered in the best attempts in external appliances, testifies to the sad fact that very little has been done in the way of reform ; therefore it is that we urge efforts being made rather in the way of prevention.

It is most important that women should take up the cause of their fallen sisters, one which, even in an interested point of view, closely concerns themselves ; but it must be taken up in that spirit of humility which sees in the unfortunate one, not so much the dissolute, bold minister of evil-doings, as the miserable victim of certain usages of society, which in a manner demand, or at least betray her into the sacrifice.

While mothers warn the young, or moralize the erring, let them likewise turn to their sons, and teach them some better lesson than they now are taught, that to be manly is synonymous with being the associate of depraved women, and that virtue in men is of no consequence.

We are recalled to the opinion so often expressed in regard of the evil in question, that 'its final extirpation is not to be hoped for.' The same may be said of every sin existing ; but the phrase, as applied to this particular vice, is used in a much wider sense than in most of the other cases of guilt, and gives license to this form of disobedience against the divine law to a fearful extent ; an extent now bringing its own punishment in the degeneration of the race.

While sensible that the ignorance and weakness of women are the worst enemies the sex can have, what is to be said, on the other hand, of those who, instead of defending that weakness, take advantage of it for vicious purposes, and in like manner prefer the ignorance that is easily duped ? Were the self-respect of women increased, their morals would improve ; and were their intelligence cultivated, rather than as now their mere instincts and feelings, the 'social evil' (that name erroneously applied only to the one sex as evil-doers,) would be greatly diminished. And even in the case of those who continued in sin, the same amount of degradation and wretchedness would not be found, forming, as they now do, a miserable contrast to those women of the same stamp in some other countries, who, in the midst of their sad career, preserve, both publicly and privately, a certain decency and regulation of conduct.

They at the same time require from their visitors treatment of a more human fashion, than, we regret to state, is the case with our lowest and most numerous class of unfortunate women, who are the mere slaves of those who frequent their society, as well as of their own intemperate and dissolute habits, where alternate riot, starvation, and intoxication go hand in hand with brutality.

So much is this vice overlooked on the part of men, that it never seems thought of as criminal, either in a religious or moral point of

of view. As long as health can be preserved, no restraint appears to be inculcated, and no penalty exacted, either from the seducer or common trader in sensualism. In absence, then, of all principle or moral check, could the usage among the higher classes be made as unfashionable as it now is the reverse, a great step would be gained in the saving of young and beautiful women from destruction ; and in respect of the middle class—said to be keenly alive to their pecuniary concerns, as well as their outward respectability—could the sin of seduction be visited with a fine, and partial loss of character, another onward step would be added. As the lower classes look to those above them for example in manners and morals, the improvement so much to be desired would speedily be seen, were purity of life accepted as the proof of nobility and of manliness ; and were those (no matter what their rank or position) branded as cowards who seduced or allured the young of either sex into those paths whose end is perdition, our country would soon regain its lost strength, and recover from its present state of moral prostration.

ART. VI.—1. *Charge of the Recorder of Birmingham to the Grand Jury at Birmingham Sessions, April, 1860.*

- 2. *Temperance of Wine Countries.*** A Letter by E. C. Delavan, Esq. London : Alliance Depôt, 335, Strand.
- 3. *Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons.***

NONE of the measures introduced by the Government during the present session to the attention of Parliament and the country has elicited so important an expression of public hostility as the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill. It has been the fashion, during the discussion, to attribute the opposition which this bill has met with to the unscrupulous efforts of vested interests. Driven by the exigencies of a debate, of which the responsibility rested mainly on himself, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would hardly suffer any unfavourable criticism, without endeavouring to fix upon the critic the stigma of publican association. This cry was certainly a mere sham, but it was not without significance. The greatest amount of opposition, and certainly the weightiest and most reputable, proceeded from the friends of temperance ; and it is true that, the bill having been carried, they have been beaten. But if the assumed alliance between the two old antagonists, publican and temperance man, be supposed, the contest has clearly shown the utter weakness of the 'licensed victuallers,' since, even when associated with moral strength, they have failed ; and, on the other hand, we have learned that no term can be applied to a public man so opprobrious as to charge him with acting as the advocate of the publican. Henceforth none can fear

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the 'great influence' of the gin-shop and public-house. Whatever the merits of the measure itself, its triumph must have emancipated the convictions of many members of the House of Commons and newspaper editors. The fact is, that the publican power, as exerted against the bill, though doubtless all that could be commanded, was extremely feeble. The opposition may fairly be taken as an opposition of principle rather than of interest. Out of 2305 petitions, with 216,130 signatures, which were presented to the House of Commons, probably 2000 emanated from friends of temperance. That these efforts were unavailing is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that all the influence of the Government, and all the commanding ability of Mr. Gladstone, were used without scruple; while, notwithstanding a disavowal, on the part of the Chancellor, of such intention, the scheme was throughout treated as an integral portion of the budget, and received the support of many liberal members, who, though disapproving of this particular detail, felt bound, by their pledges to the Administration, to support their financial arrangements in their entirety. It will therefore be interesting to review the progress of the discussion, and trace the principal modifications which the stress of opposition compelled, as well as to consider, apart from the excitement of debate, the principle on which the measure is based, and the very opposite anticipations of its friends and foes. We may then look at the bearings of the contest, and its result on future temperance legislation.

The resolution embodying the Government scheme, and in accordance with which a bill was afterwards framed, was no sooner drawn up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and placed upon the notice-paper of the House, than alarm was instantly expressed, and petitions poured in in a continuous stream. After some delay a bill was introduced materially modifying many of the features of the resolution, but which was at once held to be almost equally objectionable. This bill was contested at every stage by the temperance sentiment of the country. On the motion for its second reading, Mr. Crook, the member for Bolton, and Mr. Digby Seymour, the member for Southampton, both Liberals, moved and seconded the ordinary negative proposition. Several nights' keen debate resulted; but the Government succeeded, by a majority of 74, in obtaining the assent of the House of Commons to the bill. The numbers indicated by the division list, including pairs, were 306 for the bill, and 232 against.

During its passage through committee considerable modifications were successfully suggested, and, after some resistance, introduced. As originally drafted, the bill provided for the granting of a license to any tradesman, draper, grocer, provision dealer, or any other, to sell by retail wine not to be consumed on the premises.

mises. This has been limited to sale in pint bottles, thus preventing the maintenance of a running tap at which to fill jugs or cans. The annual value of houses to the occupier of which a complete wine license may be granted is now limited, in towns of 10,000 inhabitants, to 20*l.*; while police inspection and early closing, as in the case of beer-shops, is secured for the new wine-shops. Many suggestions were unsuccessful, such as a prohibition of the sale of wine to children, a limitation of the definition of wine to a commodity not containing more than 18 per cent. proof spirit, and the allowance of a permissive veto upon the license by the inhabitants of a district. These were, however, introduced rather with a view to a subsequent discussion of the entire license question, than with any expectation that the Chancellor would consent to them or the House adopt them. Mr. Ayrton, the member for the Tower Hamlets, was indefatigable in his efforts to overthrow, and afterwards to improve the measure.

It was evident that, notwithstanding contrary professions, the Government, or at least Mr. Gladstone, regarded the passing of this measure as of great moment. The time which was consumed by it would have saved the humiliation of the withdrawal of the Reform Bill. The session of 1860, which opened with expectations of becoming glorious in our future annals, as the date of a commercial treaty which, it may fairly be hoped, contains the germ of perpetual peace, and of the admission of the masses of the British people to a share in political power, has really been rendered memorable by the introduction of wine-shops, and the withdrawal of the Bill for the Amendment of the Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament.

In the Lords, the Government resolutely determined to push the bill through at once, without amendment. To a deputation from various temperance bodies who waited on Mr. Gladstone, that gentleman pledged himself, in answer to their urgent representation that social morality should not be made subservient to fiscal necessities, to disentangle the question of financial considerations, and promote its discussion on moral grounds alone. This pledge Mr. Gladstone did not fulfil. The fears of those members who had thoroughly identified themselves with the French treaty were appealed to by the Government whip, and, notwithstanding the previous assurances of the Chancellor, it was broadly intimated that this bill must be taken as part of the budget, and that the supporters of the Government were expected to hold by the budget in its entirety. But the determination of Mr. Gladstone was still further exhibited in the course taken in the House of Lords. Not only was the measure pressed forward there with what one of the noble lords called 'indecent haste'—the second reading being taken within twenty-four hours of the first, and before the bill had been printed,

printed, a proceeding almost unprecedented—but, in order to prevent the possibility of amendment, the bill was moved explicitly as a supply bill. The Lords, who, as our readers know, were at that moment at variance with the Commons, in consequence of the rejection by them of the Paper Duty repeal, were unwilling to widen the breach. The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill was therefore passed, Mr. Gladstone himself being present, and assisting Lord Granville by his advice during the short debate which the tactics of the Government allowed to be possible. The friends of temperance never can fight in future under so vast disadvantage; and the evident power they possess, and its enforced recognition by the Government and Parliament, may well encourage them to increased effort and improved organization.

But it will be answered by many of our readers, to our already evident distrust of the measure, that the bill itself was intended as a temperance measure, and it is hoped by many that it will be productive of sobriety. The two main arguments which have been insisted on, both in Parliament and by the press, have been these—that sobriety would be promoted, because the introduction of wine may be expected to supersede the large consumption of spirits, and triumphant reference was now and again made to the social condition as to drunkenness of wine-growing countries, and because the measure would associate eating and drinking, rather than call into existence fresh houses where drinking alone is sought to be promoted; and further, that the blow which the bill would give to the monopoly of the licensed victuallers would be the first step in getting rid of an odious public nuisance. We propose briefly to examine these positions.

It cannot be disputed, that if it were possible to substitute the drinking of wines of 15 to 18 per cent. of proof spirit for the drinking of the ardent spirits of ordinary consumption, much benefit would result. But it must be borne in mind that the bill of the Government provides for the sale of wines of 40 per cent. proof spirit, or from four to five times the potency of beer, a beverage which British experience would appear to have found sufficiently strong for the production of drunkenness and all its concomitant mischief. And it is not easy to see on what ground the assumption rests, that the people of this country will at any time become generally consumers of light wine, or that, if they did, they would run to no greater excesses than those which are common in wine countries.

It is, indeed, curious to observe how the faith of politicians in this substitutionary doctrine stands the assaults of repeated experience. The very same expectations entertained and expressed with reference to Mr. Gladstone's Wine Bill, were entertained and expressed with reference to the Beer Bill.

‘That there will be,’ said Mr. Goulburn, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the

the time, 'some sacrifice of property upon the part of many brewers and publicans, I at once acknowledge and deplore; but it is certainly better that the few should suffer than that the public at large should be deprived of a great benefit. Then as to the question of morality, *I deny that any injury will be inflicted on the morals of the people by an increase of the number of public-houses.* The measure has the assent of the great mass of the people. It is for their benefit the Government are determined to take off the beer duties, and it is also determined that the people shall have the advantage of it, and not a certain class of persons who enjoyed a monopoly in the sale of the article. *The measure, I have no doubt, will work well;* it will conduce at once to the comfort of the people in affording them *cheap and ready accommodation;* to their health in procuring them a *better and more wholesome beverage;* and to their morality in *removing them from the temptations to be met with in the common ale-house,* and introducing them to houses of a *better order, which are guarded by stricter securities than the others.'*

It is not easy to imagine language more nearly resembling that used with reference to the Wine Bill, both in Parliament and by the press. But if the anticipations indulged in in favour of the soberizing influence of light wines be no further realized than those avowed with reference to beer, we shall have little cause to congratulate ourselves on the legislation of 1860. Our readers will, in many instances, need very little information as to the actual results of the Beer Bill; but as these lines may possibly be read by others not so familiar with the facts, we propose briefly to extend our remarks. Very early experience of the effects of the beer-shop system resulted in parliamentary inquiry. In 1834 a committee moved for by the late Mr. J. S. Buckingham, then member for Sheffield, consisting of some of the most eminent statesmen living, prepared a report, which condemned not only beer-shops, but the whole license system in most unmeasured terms. In 1850 a committee of the House of Lords, after a special inquiry, declared that the beer-shop system had proved a failure; and in words which are sufficiently remarkable, as showing the complete disappointment of the hopes which had been entertained, reported—

'That the multiplication of houses for the consumption of intoxicating liquors which, under the Beer Act, has risen from 88,930 to 123,396, has thus been of itself an evil of the first magnitude, not only by increasing the temptations to excess, which are thus presented at every step, but by driving houses, even those under the direct control of the magistrate as well as others, originally respectable, to practices for the purpose of attracting custom which are degrading to their own character and most injurious to morality and order.'

And further, the same committee in its report declares explicitly that, so far from beer-drinking having displaced spirit-drinking, it had raised another class of beer-drinkers, and added it to the spirit-drinkers, who had gone on increasing, while the comfort and morals of the poor had materially deteriorated.

In 1853 and 1854, another committee of the House of Commons, under the chairmanship of Mr. Villiers, conducted a long and anxious inquiry, and though appointed for the purpose of arriving at conclusions favourable to a further development of the trade

without magisterial license, was compelled, by the force of evidence, to pronounce against the beer-shop system.

During the thirty years which have elapsed since the Beer Bill was passed, there has been a gradual development of unfavourable public opinion. With singular unanimity, the magistrates of the country have declared that they are unable adequately to cope with the mischiefs of the beer-shop; and at last a powerful organization has arisen among them, especially in the populous districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with a view practically to obtain the repeal of the Act and to bring all licenses for the sale of drink within the magisterial discretion. The testimony of jail chaplains as to the influence of the Beer Bill on drunkenness and crime has been invariably in one direction. The following are testimonies extracted from the evidence taken before the Lords' Committee of 1850:—

‘ Is convinced by experience of the evil effects of beer-houses in the production of crime, the majority of cases of theft and poaching being traceable thereto.—Rev. G. Maclear, Chaplain of Bedford Jail.

‘ Has ascertained by investigation that about four-fifths of the offences committed by the agricultural population are traceable to beer-houses.—Rev. J. Field, Chaplain of Reading Jail.

‘ Attributes most injurious effects to beer-houses, several prisoners under twenty years of age being now in custody who acknowledge that “the beer-shop has done it all.”—Rev. J. H. Hawes, Chaplain of Abingdon Jail.

‘ Beer-houses are the sources of a very large proportion of crime, the prisoners almost universally admitting that they trace their disgraceful position to them.—Rev. H. Meeres, Chaplain of Bucks Jail.

‘ Believes the several acts relating to the sale of beer to have been productive of the most demoralizing effects.—Rev. Henry Fardell, Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Isle of Ely.

‘ Suggests that the Legislature should repeal the whole of the Acts relating to beer-houses.—Rev. J. Thurling, Chaplain of Cambridge Jail.

‘ Jails must continue to be filled with prisoners, unless something be done to put down jerry-shops.—Rev. H. S. Joseph, Chaplain of Chester Jail.

‘ Judging from information obtained from prisoners, considers beer-houses one of the most fruitful sources of crime.—Rev. N. Kendall, Chaplain of Cornwall Jail.

‘ Considers beer-houses a curse in any parish, and productive of great domestic misery.—Rev. J. Thwaytes, Chaplain of Cumberland Jail.

‘ Has no hesitation in stating that the number of beer-houses and their vicinity to the dwellings of the poor have a very pernicious effect.—Rev. G. Pickering, Chaplain of Derby Jail.

‘ They (beer-houses) cannot be regarded otherwise than as positive nurseries of vice and crime.—Rev. W. B. Hellins, Chaplain of Devon Jail.

‘ Is convinced, from the additional experience of every year, that beer-houses are one of the most fruitful sources of vice and immorality in every form.—Rev. D. Clemetson, Chaplain of Dorset Jail.

‘ Finds that nearly all houses of ill-fame are beer-houses, and that spirits are sold in them, though the proprietor has no licence for so doing.—Rev. G. H. Hamilton, Chaplain of Durham Jail.

‘ Is inclined to consider beer-houses as dangerous to public morals.—Rev. G. B. Hamilton, Chaplain of Essex Jail.

‘ Has been informed by prisoners and others that much of the seduction and corruption in early life among females is to be traced to their being entrapped into these houses.—Rev. R. S. Cooper, Chaplain of Gloucester Jail.

‘ For fostering vice, and for consummating reckless and self-incurred pauperism, the

the beer-shop appears to furnish the most fatal channel.—Rev. R. S. Wright, Chaplain of Hants Jail.

‘ However lucrative they may be to the revenue in the way of Excise duties, it is at the expense of the best interests of the labouring poor, and entails an enormous expense in the punishment of crimes concocted in the beer-shop.—Rev. J. H. Barker, Chaplain of Hereford Jail.

‘ The effect of beer-houses is, and hitherto has been, to let loose a flood of vice and immorality.—Rev. H. Demain, Chaplain of Herts Jail.

‘ Has no doubt as to the demoralizing effects of beer-houses.—Rev. H. Maule, Chaplain of Huntingdon Jail.

‘ Beer-houses the chief cause of crime.—Rev. J. Metcalfe, Chaplain of Canterbury Jail.

‘ Is of opinion, formed deliberately and from long experience, that beer-houses are the promoters of crime.—Rev. J. Rowley, Chaplain of Lancaster Jail.

‘ Is enabled to say, from seven years’ experience, that the operation of public-houses and beer-houses, in the production of crime, is beyond any other instrumentality.—Rev. W. Fox, Chaplain of Leicester Jail.

‘ From the facilities afforded by beer-houses to drinking, many offences and crimes are therein committed, or committed after leaving them.—Rev. H. W. Richter, Chaplain of Lincoln Jail.

‘ Certain beer-shops and public-houses are the constant resort of youths who subsist upon whatever articles they can steal and convert into money.—Rev. John Davis, Chaplain of Newgate.

‘ From conversations with prisoners, concludes that the tendency of beer-houses in a moral point of view, is exceedingly bad.—Rev. G. Jepson, Chaplain of Clerkenwell.

‘ It is a matter of frequent occurrence that young men, in writing home, speak of the beer-shop having proved their ruin.—Rev. John Penny, Chaplain of Millbank Prison.

‘ From experience can express a very confident opinion, that beer-houses must be looked upon generally as so many nurseries of crime in the land.—Rev. J. Kingsmill, Chaplain of Pentonville Prison.

‘ Has no hesitation in saying, that the beer-house has been the source of ruin to most of the inmates of this jail.—Rev. E. J. Gosling, Chaplain of Monmouth Jail.

‘ Has no hesitation in declaring, from long experience, that beer-houses are greatly and constantly productive of crime.—Rev. James Brown, Chaplain of Norfolk Jail.

‘ Is led to conclude, from experience, that beer-houses, by increasing the temptation to drunkenness, have greatly contributed to the increase of crime.—Rev. W. C. Bishop, Chaplain of Northampton Jail.

‘ Having closely interrogated each prisoner as to the cause of their incarceration, has received answer from every one (with one single exception), that it was the facility afforded in beer-shops for the indulgence of their drinking propensities.—Rev. Lewis Paige, Chaplain of the Northumberland Jail.

‘ Beer-houses operate in producing crime by providing occasions, more numerous and cheaper than otherwise would exist, for contracting drinking habits, bad companionships, and directly criminal engagements.—Rev. W. Butler, Chaplain of Nottingham Jail.

‘ Cases of poaching, sheep-stealing, and labourers forsaking their families, have originated in the facility with which they (the labourers) could frequent beer-shops.—Rev. W. H. Hill, Chaplain of Rutland Jail.

‘ Is of decided opinion that beer-houses, in general, operate in the production of crime.—Rev. D. Winstone, Chaplain of Salop Jail.

‘ A very considerable proportion of the crime for which men are committed arises from their frequenting beer-houses. Such houses are a crying evil to the country at large.—Rev. Joseph Gatty, Chaplain of Somerset Jail.

‘ The situation of many of these houses in by-places just suits the views of poachers, thieves, and midnight assassins.—Rev. Thomas Sedger, Chaplain of Stafford Jail.

‘ Crimes generally, if not invariably, originate in the frequenting of beer-houses;

and, as corroborative of this, fifteen out of twenty men have so confessed during their imprisonment.—Rev. H. Hales, Chaplain of Ipswich Jail.

‘Considers beer-houses exceedingly injurious to the lower orders.—Rev. E. C. Wells, Chaplain of Bury St. Edmunds Jail.

‘The present law is decidedly pernicious in its consequences, beer-houses being frequently resorted to by persons bent on the commission of crime.—Rev. W. S. Rowe, Chaplain of Horsemonger Lane Jail.

‘Beer-houses are at least the means of spreading crime, from the effects of bad company.—Rev. W. Rigg, Kingston-on-Thames.

‘It would be hard to overstate the extent to which the beer-shop is connected and mixed up with the crime of the country. Is at a loss for words to express the amount of evil every day produced by the multiplication of these dens of iniquity and curses of the poor.—Rev. Richard Burnet, Chaplain of Sussex Jail.

‘I have found them the resort of all sorts of thieves, young and old, and places where the young find a ready instruction in crime.—Rev. Edward Faulkner, Chaplain of Worcester Jail.

‘A very considerable portion of crimes may be traced to the habits of idleness, intemperance, and profligacy engendered in beer-houses.—Rev. John Adlington.

‘I believe it is impossible for human language to describe the misery and wickedness added to the previous sum of our moral and social ill by beer-houses.—Rev. J. Clay, Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction.’

Few will be found who will deny the fact we have contended for, viz., that the Beer Bill has been a failure, but the reason has been but partially apprehended. Beer-shops have not diminished gin-shops—beer has not superseded ardent spirits. The operation of the increased facilities for the sale of beer has been twofold. A class of beer-drinkers has been formed, not from the number of spirit-drinkers, but, on the contrary, large numbers of those whose appetite for stimulants has been created on beer are continually passing over to swell the crowds which stand around the bar of the gin-palace. The reason of this is so obvious, that, were it not that even among some abstainers the old fallacy appears to linger, it would be almost needless to state it. But it must be reiterated, lest the indecision which appears to characterize much of the modern temperance faith should allow it to slip out of mind. It appears to us that total abstinence can be logically justified only on one ground. It is the law of the physical action of stimulants to tend to excess. The appetite for them must gradually increase by their use, not decrease, and this not from the accidental circumstances of time or place of their use, or of description or name, but from the essential nature of the article itself. The man habituated to a stimulus may for a time, more or less extended, be satisfied with beer or wine; but after a while a stronger dose must be taken to produce the same result, and the more powerful agency must be resorted to. This gradual development of appetite is the only possible explanation of the infatuation of drunkenness. Every extension of facility for the acquisition of an appetite for lighter alcoholic drinks must operate as a feeder for the places where stronger stimulants may be obtained; and although the operation of the law may in some instances be almost imperceptible, in others it is evident

evident day by day, and in none is it reversed. As we have seen, this has been the case with the beer-house system—if we are right, no other result could be expected. The same inevitable law operates in France and Belgium and in the other countries of the Continent. It is cause of lamentation and alarm to philanthropists abroad that the light wines so much spoken of no longer satisfy the appetite of the people, who are gradually passing over to the consumption of spirits. M. Ducpetiaux, the inspector of prisons under the Belgian government, and many other gentlemen of large experience, are incessant in their efforts to call public attention to this danger. It certainly does appear strange that the general consumption of light wines, which is carrying the people of the Continent *forward* to spirit-drinking, should be said to be the means of drawing our population *back* from the stronger beverages. It is but just, however, to Mr. Gladstone's sagacity to point out that he, at all events, entertains no such expectation. His calculations of revenue are based upon increased consumption, and he expressly discards any notion of decrease of revenue from spirits.

'The reduction,' said he, in his speech in explanation of the budget, 'of the duty on wine from 5s. 10d. to 3s. per gallon will afford a relief of 830,000*l.* to the consumer, and it will entail a loss upon the revenue, *after allowing for an increase of 35 per cent. consumption, of 515,000*l.** The reduction of the duty on brandy from 15s. to 8s. 2d. will give a relief of 446,000*l.* to the consumer; and computing that the consumption will be raised up to the point at which it stood in 1850-51, just before the vine disease appeared, it will entail a loss to the revenue of 225,000*l.*

And on the 30th of March, 1860, when he moved the second reading, he used these words, which are sufficiently explicit to set the question entirely at rest, so far as he was concerned:—

'I do not believe that the extended use of wine will act very powerfully in limiting or restraining the use of spirits; still less do I believe that it will act powerfully in limiting or restraining the use of beer.'

If it be granted, then, that by the introduction of the new wine-shops we cannot expect to substitute the drinking of wine for the drinking of spirits, any inquiry as to the comparative sobriety of England and wine-growing countries is beside the question. It might be—though we do not altogether feel certain about it—advantageous to 'substitute,' as Mr. Gladstone phrased it, 'the drunkenness of Paris for the drunkenness of London'; but it cannot be done. So far as the intemperance of Paris is traceable to wine-shops, the measure we are discussing will add the 'drunkenness of Paris to the drunkenness of London.' The real question to be examined, therefore, is the positive, not the comparative sobriety of wine-drinking people; and we propose, as the second branch of our argument, to discuss this only. It would almost seem as though our politicians forgot that, until the Revolution, England was a wine and beer but *not* a spirit-drinking country. It

It was, nevertheless, a very drunken country. No one acquainted even superficially with the social history of our people but must know that intemperance was one of the most important and disastrous of the national vices long before gin flowed into the country through the channels of political liberty, or the exigencies of the government induced Parliament to promote distillation. A cursory examination of the Statute-book will afford traces of trouble from the earliest times with taverns and ale-houses, and their constant dangers and mischiefs. In a very early number of this Review we took an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers to the legislative history of temperance, and we now, therefore, directing them to that article, content ourselves with a few brief observations.

One of the most recent books published, Dr. Vaughan's on the 'Revolutions of Race in England,' quotes the statement of an ancient chronicler, that in the reign of John, drunkenness, debauchery, and crime pervaded the country, arising out of a system of wine licenses, such as we are discussing.

The Acts of Edward VI. and Elizabeth were directed against wine-drinking ; and the remembrance that the gout—"the enemy," as it was emphatically called at this time, when spirits were in the vasty deep—first made its appearance, should inflict upon some advocates of 'light wines' a mental twinge. Even the staid and virtuous manners of the Commonwealth were overturned by the same potent agency. The author of 'God's Plea for Nineveh' calls his fellow-countrymen the grape-suckers of the earth. 'To be strong to drink wine is become a kind of chivalry; men waging battle at their full bowls as in a pitched field ; they who have drunk down most are like them that have knocked down most. Neither could the modesty of the fair sex restrain them from the like excess. We can find a multitude of them intemperate sottish women, who will quaff with the most riotous, and give pledge for pledge, and take off cup for cup.'

The early parliaments of Charles I. were not alarmed by gin-shops, but by wine-taverns ; and the enactments of the reign of James I., which serve to empower magistrates to fine the man who has got drunk on spirits to-day, was directed in its provisions against the liquor so favourable, it is said, to sobriety. Even then drunkenness was a 'loathsome sin,' and the people were tempted to haunt taverns 'to the hurt of divers honourable trades, to the dishonour of God, and the discredit of the nation.' By the time of Charles II. the consumption of wine had become so considerable that on the purchase of the wine licenses by Parliament from the Duke of York (afterwards James II.), they were valued at no less than 24,000*l.* per annum. Then came gin and the glorious Revolution.

Nor is the history of the past in any way contradicted by the experience of the present. It is not true that wine-growing countries are sober. The people of those countries do not exhibit the ordinary phases of British drunkenness, but there is still much of the most dangerous form—excitement. Simply as a social mischief, the beastly, besotted stupor of inebriety is less to be apprehended than the inflammatory and passionate activity, which retains all physical power without any control of reason. But even the people of wine-growing countries, according to the testimony of residents among them, besot themselves. 'I never saw a man drunk,' said a gentleman of high eminence to the writer, speaking of the south of France, where he had resided many years, 'but I seldom saw a man sober; they are always more or less excited or stupefied.'

No doubt, of wine-growing countries, Italy presents the most favourable picture of a sober population; but even there wine produces its peculiar evils.

'Though,' says Cardinal Wiseman, in his 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes,' 'compared with other nations, the Italians cannot be considered as unsocial,' 'they are fond of the Osteria and the Bettola, in which they sit and sip for hours.' 'There time is lost, and evil conversation exchanged; there stupid discussions are raised, whence spring noisy brawls, the jar of which kindles fierce passions and sometimes deadly hate: occasionally, even worse ensues. From the tongue, sharpened as a sword, the inward fury flies to the sharper steel lurking in the vest or the legging, and the body, pierced by a fatal wound, stretched on the threshold of the hostelry, proves the deadly violence to which may lead a quarrel over cups.'

It is worth while also to remember that many of the ecclesiastical authorities have been impressed with the importance of temperance in Italy itself.

Lord Acton, while Supreme Judge of Rome (afterwards Cardinal), stated his opinion upon the proportion of crimes which in his country may be traced, for their origin, either to the immoderate use of wine, or to the too great frequenting of public-houses. 'I think,' said he, 'I may fairly record one-third under this head.'

For the last few years, however, even this favourable state of things cannot be associated with wine growing or consumption. The wines consumed by the Italian populace have always been of the lightest character; but even these, by the failure of the grape crop and the increase of price nearly fourfold in consequence, have been placed beyond the reach of the great mass. As a result, it is stated, that great benefits have resulted, there being a visible and important distinction between Italians with even light wine and Italians with little or no wine at all.

But if attention be turned to other countries, the case against wine is still stronger. In Belgium and the north of France we have already said that the social difficulty in regard to intemperance

temperance is the growing appetite for spirits, and it would not be very difficult to show that in Paris, at least, the amount of alcohol per head of the population, consumed, is as large as in London. We are, of course, aware that travellers usually express a contrary opinion ; but the statistics furnished by wine merchants and by government officials are more authoritative than casual observation. We very much doubt whether the drunkenness of London is obvious to the senses of a traveller who visits it on a tour of pleasure or business. Mark Lane and Mincing Lane, Cheapside or St. Paul's Church Yard, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Pall Mall, or the Parks, will compare favourably with the Champs Elysées or the Boulevards. London has a drunken reputation, Paris a sober one, and the case is prejudged. Those of our readers who have advocated temperance in private or public circles know that there are many Englishmen who, not having seen, refuse to believe the extent of intemperance in their own land. No argument is more usual or hackneyed than that the great mass must not be debarred from enjoyment or liberty because of the *few* members of the family of Stiggins who abuse their liberty. But no such complacency exists among the clergymen, town missionaries, and other workers in Ratcliffe Highway or Bethnal Green ; nor would it long remain in the mind of any intelligent traveller who would carefully and candidly investigate the social state of Paris. It is a fact that drunkenness in Paris is on the increase, and that the great danger to order and government in France is to be found in the wine-shops.

We have before us a letter addressed by Mr. E. C. Delavan, of New York, to a friend in America, which has been published in this country. In 1839 he visited Europe, and devoted himself to the investigation of social questions. In the present year, being again upon a tour of pleasure, he felt compelled by the discussion in England to look again at the facts. We give our readers an extract from his statement of the result ; and this, it must be remembered, is not hearsay, or hurried inquiry, or careless observation, but the distinct and positive testimony of an eye-witness of the most undoubted credibility.

'I visited one wine-shop with my guide,' says he, 'last evening (April 30th 1860) ; I saw the proprietor, and told him that I was curious to see his establishment ; he was very polite, and sent a person round with us.

'At the lowest, five hundred persons were already assembled, and the people were flocking there in droves ; men, women, and children, whole families, young girls alone, boys alone, taking their seats at tables : a mother with an infant on her arm came reeling up one of the passages.

'It was an immense establishment, occupying three sides of a square, three or four stories high, and filling rapidly with wine votaries. I saw hundreds in a state of intoxication, to a greater or less degree. All, or nearly all, had wine before them.

'The attendant stated to me, that the day before (Sunday) at least two thousand

sand visited the establishment, and that the average consumption of wine was two thousand bottles per day.

‘This place was considered a rather respectable wine-shop. My guide then took me to another establishment, not ten minutes’ ride from the emperor’s palace.

‘The scene here beggars description. I found myself in a narrow lane, filled with men and women of the lowest grade. The first object which met my sight was a man dragging another out of the den by the hair into the lane. Then commenced a most inhuman fight; at least fifty people were at hand, but not a soul attempted to part the combatants.

‘I then entered into the outer room of the establishment, which was packed full of the most degraded human beings I ever beheld, drinking wine, and talking in loud voices. I did not dare to proceed further.

‘I was informed by the cabman that, in the establishment last visited, he had seen from eighty to a hundred and fifty lying drunk at a time; that they frequently drank to beastly drunkenness, and remained until the fumes passed off, for if found drunk in the streets the police take them in charge.

‘I was told there were hundreds of such places in Paris as I visited last night.’

Such, then, is continental sobriety, and so much for the *additional* obstacles imposed by Government in the way of all agencies for good.

But there remains, as we have seen, a second argument. The wine licences being granted to eating-houses will, it is said, associate eating and drinking, instead of making drinking a sort of duty of itself.

‘The definition,’ says the Rev. Dr. Burns, in an able letter addressed to the chancellor, ‘of an eating-house merely provides that some eatables shall be present, but not that they shall be consumed. There is nothing in the bill, or that could be inserted in it, which would hinder the opening of shops doing a very small trade, or absolutely none, in eatables, and a “driving” trade in wine. Again, if the shop is a *bona-fide* eating-house, there is nothing in the bill to prevent persons resorting to it for wine-drinking alone; while, in order to make his wine-trade as flourishing as possible, it might be the shopkeeper’s interest to set apart wine-rooms for the accommodation of his customers. You strongly insisted on the salutary effect of joining drinking and eating. Some medical men would dispute this teaching, and all abstainers would deny it in respect to intoxicating drinks. But, granting your view to be correct, have you considered that, while eating naturally satisfies, intoxicating liquor naturally excites, and that the wine at dinner may lead to wine after dinner? The old tavern was never a very sober place of resort, though used for eating as well as drinking purposes; and the licensed victuallers’ houses have become, as you confessed, places for drinking almost exclusively. What guarantee can you offer that *many* of the present eating-shops will not equally degenerate? If the frequenters call for wine more than for meat, the owner will only be too happy to oblige them, and to let the course of his trade flow in the direction which gives him least trouble and brings him the greatest gain.’

We conceive this argument to be amply satisfactory.

Only one other branch of the subject yet claims our attention, and in this we may allow ourselves to feel some sympathy with those who have supported the Government measure. There can be little doubt that the bill has been a heavy blow and great discouragement to the licensed victuallers. It has struck directly at their monopoly; and while it has weakened their power, it has, at the same time, exhibited the hollowness of their pretensions to political influence, and the small danger incurred by public men in setting

setting them at defiance. With the power of temperance sentiment with him, and not against him as in the case of Mr. Gladstone, any minister may safely regard the opposition of the publicans to any measure as comparatively unimportant. But while we rejoice at this, we do not agree with the reasons which are generally assigned in approval of the policy. Many of those who have advocated Mr. Gladstone's wine bill have done so, not from any clearly-defined notion of the effects of the publican monopoly on public morality, or from any desire that the power of the publican should be weakened for any future contest with temperance men, but from a sort of notion that Mr. Gladstone's bill was a development of the principles of free trade. This has been the cant of the last few months' agitation. The truth is, free trade has nothing to do with the question, but it is a very easy argument to put forward. The measure itself is restrictive of trade, not promotive of free trade. Even in wine the trade is not to be free, it is to be licensed and only conducted within strict limitations, while the measure introduces a tax upon the trade in provisions which did not exist before. But further, 'free trade' has no real connection with a discussion of the safety or danger of any particular 'home' trade. Would any free trader feel bound to advocate the removal of all restrictions in the trade in gunpowder, and the allowance of a stock of any amount within a thickly-inhabited town? The principles of free trade involve the abolition of all duties imposed for the sake of 'protection,' and mean no more than this, that the consumer shall be at liberty to buy in the best market, even though that market be a foreign one. But they do not involve the abolition of all laws of internal government necessary for public safety, even though those laws prohibit or restrict trade. Equality and not preference, as the rule of commerce, having been established, other considerations may be admitted to determine the home regulations which necessity or convenience may dictate, and which must be applicable to all alike. This distinction is again and again recognized in the treaty with France, which bears the signature of the greatest free trader. In the seventh article, her Britannic Majesty promises to recommend to Parliament to admit into the United Kingdom merchandise imported from France at a rate of duty equal to the excise duty which is or shall be imposed upon articles of the same description in the United Kingdom. The customs is removed, but the foreign produce is placed not upon more favourable, but simply upon equal terms, with the producer at home.

'It is understood,' says article 9th, 'between the two high contracting powers, that if one of them thinks it necessary to establish an excise-tax or inland-duty upon any article of home production or manufacture which is comprised among the preceding enumerated articles, the foreign imported article of the same description may be immediately liable to an equivalent duty on importation.'

But

But we are not blind to the fact that the great controversy which has yet to be decided in reference to the liquor traffic will turn on this point. The entire licence system must certainly be brought before the legislature for discussion, and the alternatives of prohibition of the common sale of or open trade in drink will, in our opinion, alone present themselves. It is suicidal for temperance men to expend their energies in seeking to patch up and amend a system so rotten as the licence system ; their true policy must be, by constant agitation and discussion of a principle, to prepare the public mind. The public mind will never be prepared for prohibition but by the discussion of prohibition ; and it will depend upon the unanimity and energy with which temperance men pursue this course, whether the Permissive Maine Law movement in this country shall achieve a rapid success, or be postponed until the desperate mischief of open trade drive the legislature to a course which, if adopted now, would save years of disaster and disgrace to the country.

ART. VII. Statistics of New Zealand for 1858, compiled from Official Records. Auckland : 1860.

IT was only in the year 1842 that New Zealand became a British colony. It had been visited on several occasions by the veteran colonial chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, who may well be styled the apostle of New Zealand. To his civilizing and christianizing influence, much of the success which has crowned European emigration into that interesting colony must be attributed. He had made the acquaintance of a native on board ship, on his return voyage to New South Wales. By means of the kindness which he showed to this unfortunate man, Mr. Marsden's way was opened to the career of philanthropy, which led him to make seven voyages to New Zealand, and which contributed greatly to the advancement of the people. Duaterra, the native referred to, was taught agriculture by him, and was furnished with wheat for sowing. When the grain grew there was no mill to grind it, and savage ingenuity did not even devise the *quern*, or hollow stone in which to pound the grain. Mr. Marsden sent a hand-mill for grinding corn, which occasioned vast surprise among the people. He also conveyed implements of industry, and introduced the horse, the cow, and the sheep. These various acts of kindness prepared the way for the introduction of the Gospel, and Mr. Marsden was received with unusual confidence by a people who had long been cannibals. At one visit he was the means of promoting peace among contending tribes, and on his next visit each rival chieftain wished the missionary settlement to be within his own domain. The Wesleyan Missionary Society early sent some

some zealous labourers into this interesting field, and they have reaped their wonted success. The Maories are now, nominally at least, almost all Christians. There are several Maori clergymen in the Episcopal Church, besides a band of zealous native assistant ministers among the Wesleyans.

The first attempt to colonize New Zealand was made in 1839, previously to which time no white men, except the missionaries, and runaway seamen or convicts, resided there. Still more recently, great efforts have been made to plant settlements; and the progress has been rapid, and the results most satisfactory. There are now six provinces in the colony: Wellington, on the eastern side of Cook's Strait; Auckland, and New Plymouth in the North Island; Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago in the Middle Island. Otago was colonized by a zealous band of Presbyterians belonging to the Free Church of Scotland in 1848. These took with them the ecclesiastical and educational organization which they had at home, and set apart a portion of their land for the maintenance of Christian ordinances. The Rev. Thomas Burns, a nephew of the poet, and who had resigned a valuable living in the Church of Scotland at the disruption in 1843, was the first minister. This colony has prospered largely. There are now 6,944 Europeans inhabiting it, of whom about 5,000 are Presbyterians. In the town of Dunedin, the capital of the province, there are 1,712 souls. Canterbury was a settlement formed by members of the Church of England, and was first occupied in 1850. 'The site made choice of possessed a harbour of its own, an immense extent of land, which it was supposed might easily be brought under cultivation, and removed from danger of disturbance from the natives, of whom there were but few, an extent of grazing country un-equalled in New Zealand, and a territory "every way available for being formed into a province, with a separate legislature." The plan was to sell the land at an additional price, and appropriate one-third of the cost to ecclesiastical purposes. The sums thus realized by sales of land were to be placed at the disposal of an ecclesiastical committee, who were empowered to make such arrangements as they might think fit, to organize an endowed church in the colony.' Within a year after the arrival of the first band, three thousand emigrants were in the province. The towns of Lyttleton and Christchurch were founded. The former of these now contains 1,135 persons, and the latter, 1,443. In neither of these settlements has there been any exclusion of other sects. Episcopilians abound in Otago, and Presbyterians in Canterbury; and Protestant dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Jews are found in both. All have their separate places of worship. The other colonies have been settled in the ordinary way; but the tone given by the Otago and Canterbury associations has influenced all, so that

that there is a good ecclesiastical and educational apparatus already set up throughout New Zealand. This will appear in the census returns which we now present to our readers. Through the courtesy and kindness of the Honourable E. W. Stafford, Colonial Secretary, we have been favoured with an early copy of the 'Statistics of New Zealand for 1858, compiled from Official Records.'

First of all, let us extract the returns of population. In 1858 there were of Europeans in the following provinces:—

Auckland, 18,117; New Plymouth (since altered to Taranaki), 2,650; Wellington, 11,753; Hawke's Bay, 1,514; Nelson, 9,272; Canterbury, 8,967; Otago, 6,944; district of Stewart's Island, 51. Total, 59,328. But there were of military and their families, 1,896; making a total of Europeans, 61,224. During the septennial period since the census was taken in 1851, there has been an increase from 26,707, or equal to 12.2 per cent. Of the whole, males preponderate by the large number of 8,000. Of the Europeans above twelve years of age, 25 per cent. cannot read or write, 11 per cent. can read only, and 63 per cent. can do both. The aggregate numbers attending schools were 9,672. As to religious profession, the numbers stand as follows:—Church of England, 30,492; Presbyterians, 11,513; Roman Catholics, 6,592; Wesleyan Methodists, 5,387; Congregationalists, 1,280; Baptists, 1,259; Primitive Methodists, 563; Lutherans, 425; Hebrews, 188; Society of Friends, 109; other denominations, 968; of no denomination, 592.

The distribution of occupations is thus registered:—Persons engaged in commerce and manufacture, 1,813; agricultural and pastoral, 4,416; mechanics and artificers, 4,579; clerical profession, 145; legal profession, 74; medical profession, 123; teachers, 206; surveyors, 110; other educated professions, 297; labourers, 4,061; domestic servants, 1,927; miscellaneous, 2,592; no occupation stated (principally women and children), 38,985.

The aboriginal population amounted to the following numbers:—In Auckland, 38,269; New Plymouth, 3,015; Wellington, 8,099; Hawke's Bay, 3,673; Nelson, 1,120; Canterbury, 638; Otago, 525; Stewart's Land and Ruapeke (estimated), 200; Chatham Island, 510. Total, 56,049. We are not informed of the increase or decrease of the natives; but we apprehend that the decrease is rapid. The males abound by 7,000 over the females, which is a most anomalous condition of population in any land being the mother-country of a people.

Material prosperity has been most remarkable during the septennial period. Live stock has increased from 299,115 in 1851, to 1,727,997 in 1858; and land under crop from 29,140 to 140,965 acres, while land fenced has advanced from 30,470 to 235,488 acres. In 1858, 339 vessels, representing an aggregate burthen of 90,188

90,188 tons, entered inwards, and 322 cleared outwards. 'The tables relating to trade and interchange are given as heretofore, (says the Registrar-General), 'both in detail and in condensed summaries; the latter being the most generally acceptable, as compendious modes of conveying all the information desired by readers out of the colony. It will be seen that the total value of imports has increased, within the period included in these summaries, from 597,827*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* in 1853, to 1,141,273*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* in 1858. In the summaries of exports, the rapid advance in the exportation of wool claims special notice, the value having increased from 66,507*l.* 19*s.* in 1853, to 254,024*l.* 16*s.* in 1858. Gold appears for the first time in a separate table, showing an export of gold, the produce of the colony, to the value of 52,443*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* in 1858, which, added to that exported in 1857, makes a total, to the 31st December, 1858, of 92,886*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

The revenue of the colony, ordinary and territorial, has increased from 149,820*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* in 1853, to 341,654*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* in 1858. During the year last mentioned, 147,539*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* were received from the sale of crown lands. The customs revenue amounted to 151,636*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*, of which 80,051*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* were from intoxicating drinks. We shall notice the effect of this last item on the moral statistics. In the six years ending with 1858, there were 12,558 convictions of all kinds of offences, committed both by Europeans and Maories; but 6,659 of these were for drunkenness. This is to be viewed apart from the Maories, of whom not more than 42 in any year—and that is the largest number—were convicted of drunkenness. If, then, the common sale of ardent spirits were and had been prohibited, what a happy colony New Zealand might have been! But by taking the vice of the mother-country into their antipodal abode, they disfigure their calendar by the drunkenness which is our blot at home. What advantages prohibition and abstinence would have been to social economy the vast sums expended in drink attest. Where land is cheap, how much valuable property might have been acquired!

The prices of provisions in this colony will interest our readers. They vary considerably in different provinces. Beer is 6*l.* per hogshead in Nelson, and 9*l.* 10*s.* at Hawke's Bay. Butter is 1*s.* per lb. at New Plymouth, and 2*s.* at Hawke's Bay. Horned cattle average from 8*l.* to 15*l.* Horses for draught from 30*l.* to 80*l.* Beef is from 4*d.* to 8*d.* per lb. Milk 4*d.* to 6*d.* per quart. Sugar from 4*d.* to 7*d.* per lb. Tea 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*

The total numbers of letters received and despatched in six years amount to 1,147,697, and of newspapers 1,643,582. Savings-banks have 715 depositors, and 15,752*l.* deposited, of which 47 Maories have 911*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* The total amounts sued for in the magistrates' courts in 1858 were 61,558*l.* 11*s.* 9*1*/₄*d.*, of which 31,821*l.* 7*s.* 3*1*/₄*d.*

31,821*l.* 7*s.* 3*1/4d.* were recovered. The Maories were concerned in 339 civil cases, of which they were defendants in 224, and they recovered 1,142*l.* There were only 53 cases in which they went to law with one another, while the Europeans had 4,174 cases among themselves.

Many interesting topics are suggested by the census returns; but we have preferred to let them speak for themselves. We have given our readers the benefit of a report which few may have an opportunity of perusing.

ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

SOCIAL Science and Social Politics are phrases of such large and elastic import, that they seem to embrace, and certainly touch, almost every public question and movement. It is, therefore, impossible, in a few brief paragraphs, to give anything more than a glance at some of the most interesting social events and proceedings of the quarter.

In an article on 'Continental Sobriety and Mr. Gladstone's Wine Bill,' the reader will find embodied some facts and statements bearing upon one of the most important public questions of the day, as affecting the social condition of the people. Mr. Gladstone's unique measure, conceived with the double-minded view of promoting national 'sobriety and morals' on the one hand, and of raising 'money supplies' for the State coffers on the other, has had to pass through a severe contest. Contrary to his promises and professions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having wriggled the measure through the Lower House, as a bill more within the province of the Home Secretary than the Finance Minister, sent it hissing hot through the House of Lords as a 'Supply Bill,' not to be touched by the little finger of the peers, on pain of impeachment for treason against the Constitution. Under these circumstances, with the Paper Duty quarrel unadjusted, it is not surprising that the lords declined to discuss the merits of a bill they had no power to amend. Still the measure was not allowed to go through the forms of the House without some scathing remarks and denunciations from several of the lay peers. The lords spiritual, it would seem, have no strong aversion to free trade in light wines, containing 40 per

cent. of proof spirit, to be sold wholesale and retail everywhere, and by anybody who can pay a small fee to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Brougham, when presenting the petition of the Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance against the Wine Licenses Bill, said: 'These gentlemen (the Alliance) argue at great length against the bill now before your lordships, considering that the bill will increase the consumption of wines and other liquors more or less connected with alcohol; and that this increase will not be confined to particular classes, but will tend to the general increase of intemperate habits, against which they protest, and argue at great length and with great force.' These pregnant words sufficiently indicate the view and judgment of Lord Brougham in regard to the measure; and no one can doubt but that his lordship would have put all his force of logic and eloquence against the scheme, had it come before the House on moral and social grounds, and not as a piece of finance. In presenting a petition from 'a most respectable body of persons residing at Bradford, who had for some time past been very active in promoting the cause of temperance,' his lordship significantly remarked: 'The petitioners were surprised that, when they were making progress in their movement, *the legislature was doing all it could to retard it.*'

The Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Harrington, the Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Denman, and Lord Redesdale all spoke against the bill. The Earl of Harrington's speech was earnest, advanced, and truth-telling, and could not but make the money Chancellor wince. The Earl of Wicklow complained that the bill did not include Ireland

Ireland and Scotland, saying, with more wit than wisdom, 'It will not do to tell me that, because these two portions of the empire are deprived of parliamentary reform, they are also to be deprived of the benefits and advantages of beverage reform. (Laughter.)' Lord Denman and the Earl of Harrington divided the House, spite of the injunctions of political chiefs, who evidently feared being pushed into another conflict with the House of Commons on a question of 'supplies.' Of course the bill was carried—36 lords, including 2 bishops, voting for it.

The following Protests against the bill have been since entered on the journal of the House of Lords:—

• Protest by the Earl of Harrington against the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill.

• Dissident—

‘1. Because the Free-Trade Wine Bill of 1860 is dishonoured by its connection with the [tax on] eating-houses.

‘2. Because this bill will tend to convert eating-houses, which are innocent places of recreation and refreshment, into resorts of vice like beer-houses.

‘3. Because the measure is opposed to the wishes of the labouring classes, who are in favour of a Prohibitory Permissive Bill, enabling the ratepayers to decide in their localities for or against the sale of strong liquors in public-houses.

‘4. Because the drinking habits of the people are rated by the judges as the great source of crime.

‘5. Because it is criminal to sanction a traffic that leads the labouring man into temptation, that poisons his brain with alcohol, that injures his health, beggars his family, lessens his productive power, and diminishes the nation's wealth.

‘6. Because the licensed drinking-house system has been denounced by the House of Lords in 1734 as to gin, and in 1850 as to beer, and by the House of Commons in 1834 as to spirits, wine, and beer.

‘7. Because the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and chiefly the working classes, tax themselves 57 millions yearly for beer, wine, spirits, and tobacco, the latter two containing no nourishment, and they are all the fertile source of disease, vice, and crime.

‘8. Because all experience proves

that the greater the number of public-houses where strong liquors are sold, the greater the drunkenness and crime.

‘9. Because in 1743 the bishops denounced the Gin Bill with matchless eloquence; but this bill was not debated by the bishops, who were absent, or passive at their posts.

‘HARRINGTON.’

• Protest of Lords Denman and Dungannon against the Third Reading of Refreshment-Houses and Wine Licenses Bill.

• Dissident—

‘1. Because it is inexpedient to pass a bill which can only be temporary, whilst a new and general regulation is rendered by it more than ever necessary for all houses, whether licensed by the magistrates or the Excise, for the sale of wine, and spirits, and beer, or of beer only.

‘2. Because the veto pointed out by this bill is difficult to be carried out, and has no reference to the opinions of a neighbourhood as to the necessity for the number of refreshment-houses required therein; whilst it takes away from the magistrates the power they at present possess (in part) of controlling the sale of foreign wine.

‘3. Because the notice of application for licenses for refreshment-houses, being placed on church doors, is a reference to a subject entirely different from that of religion.

‘4. Because while this bill defines “refreshment-houses” as houses open between nine at night and five in the morning, it requires every vendor of eatables who may close his house as early as eleven at night to take out a “refreshment-house” license, and to be subject to domiciliary visits from the police (without any complaint from any informer or from the neighbours) until five o'clock in the morning.

‘Because the retailing of wine of all descriptions, Spanish, Portuguese, French, or German, in any description of shop, without any limit as to number, will interfere with ordinary branches of trade, and cause great interruptions in the ordinary course of business, and a great waste of time; whilst those who have a character for importing pure wines will find it difficult to maintain their ground against unlimited competition.

‘DENMAN.

‘DUNGANNON.’

Bills

Bills for extending the Wine Licenses to Scotland and Ireland have been prepared, and whilst we write, are being pressed through the Commons. Being 'money bills,' they will of course go through both Houses. The Commons want supplies, and the Lords have no power to refuse. The people are obliged to submit until the next general election.

That able and philanthropic judge, the learned Recorder of Birmingham, has spoken out nobly upon the Government measure to prevent temperance and raise taxes, by extending the sale of wines. At the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the borough of Birmingham, Mr. Recorder Hill, after speaking of the open desecration of the Sabbath by Birmingham traders, alluded, in condemnatory terms, to the New Wine Licenses Bill. He said that Government had entered into a treaty with France which rendered it incumbent on this country to lower the duties of French wines. This reduction would cause a greater consumption; and then arose the question—Who are to be the consumers? Not those who drank beer, he hoped, because he thought they had enough of the intoxicating liquor at present; and not those who drank spirits, because they had too much now. Were those who were temperate, and at present confined themselves to the harmless beverage, water, to become vast consumers of French wines? Or, were the present consumers of wine to be allowed to increase that consumption? One could hardly suppose that either of these classes could furnish the additional consumer; but the additional consumers must be furnished somehow; and though he felt assured that the measure had been introduced with every desire to benefit the country, he could not but fear, wishing at the same time that he might be mistaken, that it would not promote the sobriety of the people. He was addressing them in no partisan spirit, but from a stern sense of duty. He sat there day after day, and year after year, to try prisoners. He tried always to ascertain what was the cause of their crimes, and from the long experience he had had, having sat in criminal courts for forty years, he had found that, in almost every case, drinking had something to do with the crime; sometimes it was traceable to the drinking habits of the criminal, and sometimes it arose from the drinking habits

of the victim, whose state of intoxication acted as a temptation to lead persons to do him wrong.

Lord Chelmsford's bill for lessening the amount of Sunday trading in the metropolis has passed through the Lords, but is being obstructed in the Commons, on the ground that it contains some money clauses (fines), and, having originated with the Lords, is therefore not strictly constitutional.

Mr. Crook's bill for lessening the hours of labour in bleach-works and dye-works, similar to the provisions of the Factory Act, has been adopted by the House of Commons, on second reading, and will most likely pass the Lords. Another useful measure, the Mines Regulation and Inspection Bill, has passed into committee on the clauses, and will doubtless become law. These are measures which all social reformers must take special interest in, seeing that they tend to protect human life, health, and morals.

Lord Redesdale's bill to regulate the weights of the running horses at races, on the second reading, was warmly debated, and withdrawn.

Mrs. Swinfen's case against Lord Chelmsford has again been adjudicated upon. Thistime the judgment is adverse to Mrs. Swinfen. Chief Baron Pollock decides that, 'provided an advocate acts honestly, with a view to the interest of his client, he is not responsible at all in an action.' Of course it will never be possible to prove that counsel act with any other view, however much he may blunder or bungle his case, or compromise the character and cash of his client. Leave was given by the Lord Chief Baron to appeal against the judgment of the court.

That great social and political question of a reform in the representation of the people, has been largely debated in the People's House, but has been dismissed till a more convenient season. Who killed the measure it would be difficult to say, but had the cabinet been half as anxious to carry it as were one or two of them to secure the Wine Licenses Bill, it would not have passed away as an abortive effort.

A select committee of the House of Commons, moved for by Sir John Trellawney, sat several days in March, to take evidence in respect to opening public institutions in the evenings. The evidence, along with the report, are now published. Several places are indicated

indicated that might be opened in the evenings—the National Gallery, some departments of the British Museum, the Tower, the East India Museum, the Geological Museum, and the Houses of Parliament during the recess. The committee report in favour of opening such institutions in the evening, and recommend simple catalogues, sold at small cost, and occasional short popular lectures; and also that surplus works of art and duplicate specimens from the museums be exhibited in different parts of the metropolis, wherein responsible parties will provide suitable premises. This is a most excellent suggestion, and it is to be hoped that it will be carried out, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the nation. Some extra attractions and ameliorations will be required to keep the young people out of the Chancellor's new wine taverns.

A preliminary meeting has been held at Glasgow to make arrangements for the reception of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in September next. The Lord Provost was in the chair, and a numerous attendance was gathered. A large general committee was appointed, the Lord Provost being convener. James McClelland, Esq., jun., was appointed treasurer, and Mr. A. B. M'Grigor, Mr. J. Wyllie Guild, and Dr. Blackie were invited to act as secretaries. The meetings of the Association are to commence on Monday, the 24th of September, and will continue during the week.

Some frightful railway accidents have recently occurred, one of a most extraordinary and terrific character, at the London terminus of the Great Northern Railway, King's Cross, to a return excursion train, conveying passengers from the large towns in the north of England. It would be well if a select committee, or royal commission, were appointed to inquire into the connection between these accidents and the strong drink sold at railway refreshment rooms, to the companies' men, whose drunkenness is the cause of

such enormous sacrifices of railway property and human life.

The new Census Bill is the subject of much newspaper remark, and public meetings are being held to protest against the clause requiring persons to state their religious professions. The clause will surely be withdrawn.

Those distinguished veteran philanthropists, Lord Brougham and the Lord Bishop of Oxford, have been attending a series of large public meetings in Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool, advocating with eloquent earnestness the claims of a new mission to Central Africa, hoping, as Lord Brougham remarked in his Manchester speech, 'that it would be found a powerful agency in aid of the termination of that guilty traffic (the slave trade), and trusting that the native chiefs of Africa would be led by increased knowledge to the promotion of civilized industry, instead of lending themselves to the purposes of the slaveholder.'

A select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the best means of settling disputes between masters and operatives, has recommended the establishment of courts of conciliation, more especially in the manufacturing, commercial, and mining districts.

Lord Brougham has introduced an important bill into Parliament, intended to amend the law of evidence. Mr. Ewart's bill to abolish professional oaths has passed a second reading in the Commons, the Home Secretary giving it support. Lord Raynham's Aggravated Assaults on Women Bill has been rejected by the Lower House, having passed the House of Lords; the principal objection of the Commons being, that the infliction of corporal punishment would prevent the wife giving evidence against the husband. The Permissive Bill of the United Kingdom Alliance would be the best antidote to the growing evil alluded to, as it would prevent nineteen out of twenty of the assaults being committed.

ART. IX.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

Ishmael; or a Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity. By the Rev. Dr. J. M. Arnold. Formerly Church Missionary in Asia and Africa. London: Rivingtons, 1859.

THIS work is full of a vast amount of learning, brought to bear on a most philanthropic object. Dr. Arnold divides his work into two parts, as indicated by his title. In the first we are introduced to the forerunners of Mohammed, the land of Islamism, the age, history, and character of Mohammed, the history and dogmas of the Koran, what Mohammed borrowed from Judaism and from Christianity, the spread and success of Islamism, and its character and influence. In the second part there is a contrast drawn between Christianity and Islamism, and those points in the former which are affected by the latter brought strongly out and defended. After the recent events in India, and the long neglect of the Arabs, it is high time that the Christian public of England made some special effort to propagate the Gospel among Mohammedans. Dr. Arnold keeps this in view throughout his work; and we trust that a book so full of facts and arguments may obtain a large circulation. Social amelioration to a great extent, especially among women, would take place were Islamism to give way to the beneficial influence of the religion of Jesus.

Why I have taken the Pledge; or, an Apology for Total Abstinence and the Permissive Maine Law. By the Dean of Carlisle. London: Hatchard, 1860.

THE Dean of Carlisle, while he was the respected incumbent of Cheltenham, was well known as a great friend of education. The institutions which stud the beautiful town where he so long ministered will remain as monuments of his public spirit and philanthropy. His elevation to a deanery has not abated any of his zeal. His eye is as open to inquiry, and his hand to labour as ever. And having seen that education is not sufficient to cure the English sin of drunkenness, he has thrown his influence into the scale of temperance, that he may benefit his

fellow-countrymen. In the pamphlet before us he assigns his reasons for so doing. These reasons are conclusive, and cannot fail to speak to the heart of all who peruse his paper. It is a hopeful sign of the temperance cause when church dignitaries are taking it by the hand. The Dean of Carlisle is not the man to flinch, and we rejoice to observe that he is as ready to advocate with his voice as with his pen. While giving the example of Total Abstinence, he cordially supports the United Kingdom Alliance in agitating for the removal of the temptation. The Permissive Bill has his thorough sympathy. This pamphlet ought to be extensively circulated among the clergy and people generally. We would be glad to see a penny edition, for more extensive circulation.

The Other Side: an Examination of an Article in the 'National Review' for January, 1860, entitled 'Intemperance: its Causes and Cures.' By the Rev. Dawson Burns. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance.

THIS is a thorough examination, exposure, and refutation of the fallacies, follies, and objections of the National Reviewer. Mr. Burns classifies his remarks under these heads: 1. The Reviewer's Aspersions; 2. His Objections; 3. His Concessions; 4. His Suggestions; and lastly, his Omissions. Each point is dealt with in an able and crushing manner. Temperance men seem ever ready to meet their adversaries—to take advantage of weaknesses. To them it is matter of gratification when their enemy prints a book, for it is immediately answered. Every objection serves as a new peg to exhibit their noble and glorious cause. This pamphlet has an interest independent of the controversy, and deserves to be circulated at a time like this.

Politics of Temperance; a Series of Monthly Papers of the United Kingdom Alliance.

WE have already drawn the attention of our readers to these admirable papers, as they were issued separately. In this collected form we have six very able essays on the great question of the liquor traffic. Besides being of

service

service to the people at large, every elector ought to possess a copy, and every member of the legislature ought to be supplied with one by some of his constituents.

The Lost Jewel. A Tale. By A. L. O. E. London : J. F. Shaw, 1860.

THE popular author of this tale has produced a story of unflagging interest and excellent moral, such as young persons may read with profit.

The Book for All Ages. By the author of 'Have You?'

THIS work contains a collection of stories, original and edited. They are touching and impressive, with a decidedly religious tone. The book is beautifully got up, and is well adapted to the young.

Glimpses of our Heavenly Home; or, Destiny of the Glorified. By the Rev. Edwin Davies, of Stroud. Second Edition. Heylin.

THIS is a beautiful book: it treats a profoundly interesting subject in a manner that ought to make it a favourite in every Christian family. The author has succeeded in condensing nearly all the information that can be gathered from revelation concerning the future state into a short compass, beginning with 'Anticipations of our Heavenly Home,' and closing with 'Celestial Employments,' he has swept over a vast range of truth, and clothed his thoughts in language that glows and burns with poetic fire. Almost every page is studded with choice quotations from our best writers, both in prose and verse, that display wide and careful reading. We cordially recommend the book, and think that no Christian can read it without feeling at the close like John Bunyan, who, when he got a glimpse of his pilgrim as he entered the city of God, and of the glory, exclaimed, 'Which when I saw I wished myself amongst them.'

The Song of Christ's Flock in the Twenty-third Psalm. By John Stoughton. London : Nisbet and Co.

THIS work, as the title indicates, contains an exposition of that exquisitely beautiful and precious portion of God's word, the twenty-third Psalm. This exposition is divided into thirteen discourses, which the eloquent author says were addressed to his own flock

at the beginning of the year. If such be fair specimens of his ordinary pulpit exercises, his flock may well felicitate themselves on being privileged to listen to his teaching. The discourses, albeit brief, are correct in exegesis, scriptural in doctrine, and suffused with profound and tender feeling. Many devout believers will ponder them with more than ordinary pleasure and advantage.

Notes on Nursing: what it is, and what it is not. By Florence Nightingale. London : Harrison.

THE name of Miss Nightingale on any work would secure the circulation of a large edition; but a pamphlet on her noble mission, and any hints for the better construction of hospitals, or an improved mode of nursing the sick, cannot fail to be received with attention. Her noble self-devotion to the wounded soldiers at Scutari, and her self-denying labours amidst dirt, disease, and death, will ever make her name a household word in England, and give her memory the influence of example when she is gone. Great as was the gratitude to this heroic lady for her generous philanthropy during the Russian war—gratitude which was expressed in a national gift—deep has been the sympathy and sorrow of the people at large on account of her serious illness, the sad result of her self-sacrifice for the suffering soldier. We sincerely trust that her valuable life may be spared. Unable, from the state of her health, to organize the institution for the training of nurses, she has embodied some practical suggestions of great value to all houses and to all women. In the pamphlet before us she addresses herself directly to the point in view, and with practical wisdom advances truths of which we have been too long and sinfully ignorant. They refer to very common things; but in which very much of life, health, and comfort are bound up. She does not intend her 'Notes' to be 'a rule of thought by which nurses can teach themselves to nurse, still less as a manual to teach others to nurse. They are meant simply to give hints for thought to women who have personal charge of the health of others. Every woman, or at least almost every woman, in England has, at some time or other of her life, charge of the personal health of somebody, whether child or invalid: in

in other words, every woman is a nurse.' Seeing that this is the case, and that so much depends on the first principles of sanitary knowledge, Miss Nightingale says: 'How immense and how valuable would be the produce of her united experience if every woman would *think* how to nurse!'

In her 'Notes' she endeavours to suggest such thoughts as would aid nursing, and the knowledge of those principles which would assist its practice. These relate to the following subjects:—Ventilation and warming, health of houses, petty management, noise, variety, taking food, what food? bed and bedding, light, cleanliness of rooms and walls, personal cleanliness, chattering hopes and advices, observation of the sick. They are all treated with great common-sense, a rich vein of humour, and a plainness that the most stupid can understand. Were these only made the subject of study and practice in ordinary nursing the sick and attending to the well, diseases would, in many cases, be prevented, and be more easily arrested when they seized a patient.

'The very first course of nursing,' says Miss Nightingale, 'the first and last thing upon which a nurse's attention must be fixed, the first essential to the patient, without which all the rest you can do for him is as nothing, with which, I had almost said, you may leave all the rest alone, is this: **TO KEEP THE AIR HE BREATHES AS PURE AS THE EXTERNAL AIR WITHOUT CHILLING HIM.** Yet what is so little attended to? Even where it is thought of at all, the most extraordinary misconceptions reign about it. Even in admitting air into the patient's room or ward, few people ever think where that air comes from. It may come from a corridor into which other wards are ventilated, from a hall always unaired, always full of the fumes of gas, dinner, of various kinds of mustiness: from an underground kitchen, sink, washhouse, water-closet, or even, as I myself have had sorrowful experience, from open sewers loaded with filth; and with this the patient's room or ward is aired, as it is called—poisoned, it should rather be said. Always air from the air without, and that, too, through those windows through which the air comes freshest. From a closed court, especially if the wind do not blow that way, air may

come as stagnant as from a hall or corridor. . . . With a proper supply of windows, and a proper supply of fuel in open fireplaces, fresh air is comparatively easy to secure when your patient or patients are in bed. Never be afraid of open windows then. People don't catch cold in bed. This is a popular fallacy. With proper bed-clothes and hot bottles, if necessary, you can always keep a patient warm in bed and well ventilate him at the same time.'

It would be of very great consequence if the air-test of Dr. Angus Smith could be made generally useful, and as cheap and portable as a common thermometer. This would arouse the anxieties of parents and of relations. Regarding the school 'we should hear parents saying, and saying rightly, "I will not send my children to that school, the air-test stands at 'Horrid.'" And again: 'Scarlet fever would be no more ascribed to contagion, but to its right cause, the air-test standing at "Foul."

With regard to the health of houses, we are told by our fair monitor, that that there are *five* essential points—Pure air—pure water—efficient drainage—cleanliness—and light. 'God,' she says, 'has laid down certain physical laws. Upon His carrying out such laws depends our responsibility (that much-abused word), for how could we have any responsibility for actions, the results of which we could not foresee—which would be the case if the carrying out of His laws were *not* certain? Yet we seem to be continually expecting that He will work a miracle, *i.e.*, break His own laws expressly to relieve us of responsibility.'

A word upon *dusting* may be appropriately introduced, as very much of health results from the proper mode of performing that every-day exercise. 'No particle of dust is ever or can ever be removed or really got rid of by the present system of dusting. Dusting in these days means nothing but flapping the dust from one part of a room on to another with doors and windows closed. What you do it for I cannot think. You had much better leave the dust alone, if you are not going to take it away altogether. For from the time a room begins to be a room up to the time when it ceases to be one, no one atom of dust ever actually leaves its precincts. Tidying a room

room means nothing now but removing a thing from one place, which it has kept clean for itself, on to another and a dirtier one. Flapping by way of cleaning is only admissible in the case of pictures, or anything made of paper. The only way I know to *remove* dust—the plague of all lovers of fresh air—is to wipe everything with a damp cloth. And all furniture ought to be so made as that it may be wiped with a damp cloth without injury to itself, and so polished as that it may be damped without injury to others. To dust, as it is now practised, truly means to distribute dust more equally over a room.'

Miss Nightingale does not favour carpets in sick rooms, unless they are frequently taken up and cleaned. She condemns the papered wall as the worst. The painted wall, from which you can wash the animal exuviae, or the varnished paper, only receives her approbation. But 'the best wall for a sick room or ward that could be made, is pure, white, non-absorbent cement or glass, or glazed tiles, if they were made sightly enough.'

Personal cleanliness is of the utmost consequence to the preservation or restoration of health. Yet how few are aware that 'in many of the most important diseases, nature relieves herself almost entirely by the skin!' Hence the need of frequently opening the pores and clearing away the detritus which so rapidly collects there. Few, also, are aware how to clean the skin. This is Miss Nightingale's recipe: 'Take a rough towel, dip one corner in very hot water—if a little spirit be added it will be more effectual—and then rub as if you were rubbing the towel into your skin with your fingers. The black flakes which will come off will convince you that you were not clean before, however much soap and water you have used. These flakes are what require removing. And you can really keep yourself cleaner with a tumbler of hot water and a rough towel and rubbing, than with a whole apparatus of bath and soap and sponge, without rubbing. It is quite nonsense to say that anybody need be dirty. Patients have been kept as clean by these means on a long voyage, when a basinful of water could not be afforded, and when they could not be moved out of their berths, as if all the appurtenances of home had been at hand.'

These quotations will show the reader what is the practical value of the 'Notes on Nursing' which Miss Nightingale has published. We trust that all our readers will procure and peruse the pamphlet for themselves, that they will give it to their wives and daughters. The topics referred to are such as should enter into the common education of every woman; and into the professional training of all female teachers of schools, and all who go out as nurses. Much happiness would be transfused throughout society, general health be greatly preserved, many children saved from an early death, and patients in sick rooms or in hospitals be much more skilfully nursed and restored. 'On women,' says our authoress, 'we must depend, first and last, for personal and household hygiene—for preventing the race from degenerating in as far as these things are concerned. Would not the true way of infusing the art of preserving its own health into the human race be to teach the female part of it in schools and hospitals, both by practical teaching and by simple experiments, in as far as these illustrate what may be called the theory of it?'

Domestic Servants, as they are and as they ought to be. A few friendly hints to employers. By a Practical Mistress of a Household. London: Tweedie.

The Comparative Properties of Human and Animal Milks. By M. A. Baines. London: Churchill.

The Practice of Hiring Wet-nurses (especially those from the fallen) considered as it affects Public Health and Public Morals. By M. A. Baines.

A Few Friendly Words to Young Mothers. By one of the Maternity. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.

A Few Words on Woman's Work: showing the paramount importance of Home Duties. By M. A. Baines. *Married Women at Home.* By H. Stallwood.

THESE pamphlets are issued in connexion with the Ladies' Sanitary Association, and are deserving of a very wide circulation. The subjects which they discuss are of more vital moment to society than is generally believed. Much credit is therefore due to the ladies who have written such able and practical papers, and who are endeavouring with commendable zeal to carry

carry out their views. We sincerely trust the Association will extend its influence and be multiplied by branches in every large town. The reformation of home will go far to cure many of the miseries, vices, and diseases which prevail, and save many a child from a premature death. If our readers peruse and circulate these pamphlets they will do a good work.

The Magdalen's Friend. Edited by a Clergyman. London: Nisbet & Co. This is a monthly magazine issued in connection with the efforts now being made to put down or allay 'the Social Evil.' It is well edited and admirably adapted to its object.

Danesbury House. By Mrs. Henry Wood. Glasgow: The Scottish Temperance League. 1860.

A PRIZE of 100*l.* was given for this tale, which is 'illustrative of the injurious effects of intoxicating drinks, the advantages of personal abstinence, and the demoralizing operations of the liquor traffic.' These themes are strikingly portrayed in a well-told tale. The drunken cases introduced are decidedly bad; but they can easily be paralleled from real life. There is good writing, lively description, and fine delineation of character, with a wholesome moral in 'Danesbury House.'

Anecdotes: Religious, Historical, and Scientific. By Matthew Denton. *Third Series.* London: Partridge and Co. 1860.

WE have not seen the former series of these anecdotes; but the little volume before us contains some additions to the hackneyed list hitherto in circulation. If the book had possessed some arrangement, its usefulness for reference would have been enhanced. Should the author collect his three volumes into one, we commend this to his attention in order to make his collection permanently useful.

Lectures to the Men of Liverpool. By Hugh Stowell Brown. Liverpool: Gabriel Thomson. 1860.

THERE is a great amount of good advice amidst much loose writing and slang phrases in these addresses to the men of Liverpool. There is no doubt that they must tell upon the intelligent conviction of those who heard them delivered and on those who peruse them. Mr. Stowell Brown is *sui generis*, and

he fulfils his mission with much labour and singular adaptation.

Schoolroom Poetry. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THERE are some good pieces from our best poets in this compilation, but there is no arrangement fitting it to be a school-book. Some pieces whose authorship is well known are marked *anonymous* by this Educator!

Summary of the Bill introduced to Parliament by F. Pigott, Esq., M.P., entitled, 'An Act for the Better Regulation of Medical Relief to the Poorer Classes in England and Wales,' &c. &c. With a Commentary thereon, and a Letter to the Members of the Legislature. By Richard Griffin, J.P., M.R.C.S., and L.S.A., Chairman of the Poor Law Medical Reform Association.

OUR readers may recollect an article on this subject in a former number of this Review. The pamphlet before us is worthy of earnest consideration, not only by the profession, but by the Legislature and the Boards of Guardians throughout the country. It is high time that the position of medical men under the Poor Law were in a satisfactory state. Mr. Griffin has done much to promote this, and we trust he will realize his wishes in the passing of the Bill now before the House of Commons.

Samuel the Prophet, and the Lessons of his Life and Times. By the Rev. Robert Steel, Cheltenham, Author of 'Doing Good: or, The Christian in Walks of Usefulness.' London: Nelson and Sons. 1860.

THIS work is in its *third thousand*. A critic personally unknown to us but entirely devoted to literature has thus written of it: 'The volume before us does great justice to the illustrious prophet. Mr. Steel is a man of judgment, observation, and reading—qualities which are turned to excellent account throughout the work. The volume deserves, and we doubt not will obtain, great and general favour.' For reasons known to many of our readers, we prefer giving this to any notice written at our own request.

The Blood of Jesus. By the Rev. William Reid, M.A. London: Nisbet and Co.

AN earnest and evangelical book, remarkably well suited to anxious inquirers

quirers in the most momentous period of their lives. It is scriptural, practical, clear, and pointed, and cannot fail to be largely useful. Though a small work, it goes to the root of the soul's disease, and applies the balm of Gilead with a skilful hand.

Scrub; or, the Workhouse Boy's First Start in Life. By Mrs. C. L. Balfour. London: S. W. Partridge.

This story, which is illustrated with a few woodcuts, is a happy effort of Mrs. Balfour's fertile pen. It may be appropriately placed in the hands of young apprentices whether out of the workhouse or happy homes.

A Biographical and Critical Sketch of Dr. Beaumont, the eloquent Orator. By the Rev. Richard Wrench. London: Partridge and Co. 1859.

THERE is cleverness in this sketch which would give effect to it as a lecture; but for a book much more is necessary. If the author publishes the others referred to in his preface, we strongly advise him to make one book of them all. Individually they would be ephemeral.

Temperance of Wine Countries. A Letter by Edward C. Delavan, Esq., of Albany, New York: London: Alliance Dépôt. 1860

This exposure of the fallacy and fatal policy of the Wine Bill of Mr. Gladstone ought to be in every one's hand. When so many have been deluded by the Chancellor's sophistry, a pamphlet like this will do much to open the eyes and convince the judgment of the candid.

Love and Labour; or, Work and its Reward. By Kate Pyer, Author of 'Peace Stories for Children.' London: Thickbroom and Stapleton. 1860.

This is a most touching story, and fitted both to fascinate the attention and impress the hearts of the young. There is great naturalness in the description. Too many scenes of common life exhibit the dark side of this picture; but we rejoice to believe that there is a grow-

ing increase of the bright side also. Drink causes the shady, and abstinence the sunny side.

Steyne's Grief; or, Losing, Seeking, and Finding. By the Author of 'Bow Garrets,' &c. London: Tweedie. 1860.

THERE are some entertaining scenes and good writing in this temperance tale. The influence of drink, and the evil of public-houses on working men, are most accurately traced. A good and skilled workman, after having been rescued from intemperance and misery, and made happy by the kind attentions, cheerful piety, and fond affections of an excellent wife, and after having started afresh in a new locality, is seduced by the publican, and becomes a sot, a cruel husband and father, and a wretched suicide. The trials and sorrows, the wrongs and insults endured at home, are told with power, and the death of the broken-hearted wife is related with much pathos. The fortunes of Cary Deering form a very painful episode in the whole. 'Steyne's Grief' is intended to represent the long, long agony of spirit realized by the drunkard's son in his career through life. There is, however, a haze of improbability about his sudden rise at last. We have much pleasure in commanding this work to our readers.

After Many Days. A Tale of Social Reform. By Seneca Smith. London. 1860.

THE volume just noticed refers to the ravages of intemperance among the working classes. This conducts us to the 'upper ten thousand,' where the insidious vice has also its victims. It is true that drunkenness does not now characterize the higher classes as it once did, but it is not without its withering blight, wherever it is indulged. 'After Many Days' is a pretentious tale, and attempts to show the high social advantages of temperance. We have not, however, been so much interested in it as in the others before us, which aim less high but touch more keenly.

Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Histoire du Merveilleux, dans les Temps Modernes.*
Par Louis Figuier. Deux tomes. Librairie de L. Hachette. 1860.
2. *Hecker's Epidemics of the Middle Ages.* Sydenham Society.
1844.
3. *Select Memoirs of Port Royal.* By M. A. Schimmelpenninck.
In three volumes. Longman and Brown. 1858.
4. *Hours with the Mystics.* By Robert Alfred Vaughan, B.A. In
two volumes. John W. Parker.

IT is impossible to gaze at the continual rise and swell in the waves of the sea, without being struck by its strange likeness to the mysterious action and reaction in human society. As each wave spends itself, how slowly and surely it gathers again, till, fed from hidden sources and imperceptible currents, it swells into a wall of crystal, and breaks in the culmination of its strength. Backwards and forwards ebb the impetuous tides, in alternate passion and rest; now 'the scream of the maddened beach, dragged back by the wave,' and now the lull after the frenzy is over. So the history of mankind appears, at first sight, to revolve in perpetual cycles, bringing round and round the same heart-stirring crises of intensity and excitement, followed by the same monotonous periods of mental and physical stagnation.

In one sense we may assert, that what has been will be, to the end of time. And yet we can never reduce this independent existence to a mere web woven out of the machinery of circumstances, or turn statistics into a horoscope for foretelling the future. History cannot be investigated by a tedious process of counting, for it will never exactly reproduce itself; but as no single face, and no one idea, are the same as other faces and ideas, so no fact is a precise repetition of a previous fact, and we must think out each event on its own peculiar merits. Events are illustrations of laws. Particular tendencies and peculiar stages of feeling are natural to humanity. Ultra spiritualism and gross materialism are two poles, between which a just medium should be found. Mankind has ever been leaning to one or other of these opposites. Phariseeism and Sadduceeism, the puritanical and papistical characters, are not new, nor will they ever be old. If, on the one hand, the cold formalism of the once saintly Sardis seems to be incorporated in human

nature, so that each generation is in danger of staking its religion on mere dogmas and formulas, it may be said, with equal truth, that there is a tendency in society to that fanaticism which mistakes feeling for principle, and which is ready to push to the most Utopian extremes.

In 1853 (when walking and talking tables made their débüt in the civilized world), many sensible persons found it difficult to reconcile a widely-diffused and ignorant passion for the marvellous with the advanced philosophy and scientific research of the nineteenth century. Sober Englishmen seemed as if returning to that mania after 'daemons' which distinguished the earliest dawning of knowledge in pagan antiquity, and Pharaoh's sorcerers might have mocked at their childish puerilities. But a better acquaintance with the history of the past might have diminished this astonishment, and might have proved that such phenomena had taken place in all ages of the world.

In 1859 a like sensation of alarm and disgust was aroused in some minds by the 'physiological accidents' connected with the 'revivals' in Ireland. Strong prejudices were entertained against these religious movements, on account of the bodily manifestations with which they were associated ; and many of the more prudent amongst us were inclined to distrust the good, on account of the positive evil which followed it. The discussion has given rise to much acrimony and party spirit, and has been so well debated, that we are disinclined to give it more than a cursory notice. On behalf of the advocates of revivalism, it may be urged that strong feeling will produce a corresponding action upon the nerves and the brain, extending over the whole frame, and often agitating the body. Scripture sets no value on such 'bodily exercise,' nor can such excitement be proved to be genuine, till tried by experience, and tested by the rules of Gamaliel. Yet that such affections should take place during any excitement amongst the demonstrative Irish can cause no wonder, though it may teach us moderation and caution. The vaunted progress of our age is powerless to repress the excesses of natural emotion. Scientific information is only the possession of the few, whilst it increases the credulity of the many.

The phenomena of fanaticism are confined to no nation, and limited to no time. They extend to both body and mind, occasionally producing the gravest results, such as catalepsy, convulsions, fainting fits, and even insanity. That these phenomena are propagated by sympathy and imitation is a fact proved by experience. At one time the excitement in Belfast assumed the grave appearance of an epidemic. Children in arms from six months old and upwards, were reported by their parents to have taken the infection, and the 'smitten' could be counted by scores. The danger of attributing such results to special inspiration, was, however,

ever, recognized in time, and subsequent events have proved that the movement may be guided into permanent usefulness. In many places the outward face of society is changed by the improvement in morality; and sermons are no longer productive of physical disease.

The evidence of an English writer attests the reality of the reformation in America, where the results could be imputed only to the direct agency of prayer.*

Yet the physical phenomena of revivalism in its coarser forms are a painful burlesque on sacred and mysterious feelings. We have little occasion in our day to foster a morbid spirit of self-introspection, and to aim at increasing nervous susceptibility. The excesses of Mormonism may warn us against physical contagion. Religion, it has been said, should be associated with the soundest reasoning, and the highest development of intelligence. True revivalism consists in the service of the heart, and the strict performance of duty, rather than in a temporary effervescence of enthusiasm, manifesting itself in spasmodic shoutings and contortions of the body. After the 'application of such violent stimulants' (as Sir Charles Lyell remarked, with regard to the United States), there is usually a corresponding reaction. There is a tendency in all crowds to act upon sympathy apart from conviction, whilst the spirit of imitation will often nurture self-deception and hypocrisy. It remains for intelligent preachers of religion to discourage the symptoms of such dangerous contagion, and to avoid that unnatural exaggeration which may weaken the bodily organism of their hearers, engendering hysteria and mesmerism.

The abnormal results of mental and physical excitement require the advice of the physician rather than of the divine, and might be generally cured by prudent discouragement. By far too much importance has been attached to these phenomena, which are nothing new, but have been fostered in all ages by those who sincerely believed them to be the result of divine agency, as well as by cunning impostors. From the curious results which attended the preaching of Tauler, down to the days of Jonathan Edwards; from the time of the dancing Galli, to those afflicted with Tarantism, there has been a striking uniformity in the pathology of these cases. A cursory review of history will be sufficient to show that the annals of the past are replete with anecdotes of self-imposture, which was encouraged by the misdirection of the holiest and sublimest sentiments. In like manner the so-called miracles of mesmerism and spiritual communication are only the continuation, the almost inevitable development of analogous phenomena, which preceded them in the past; and may be explained by the instruc-

* 'The Power of Prayer. A Revival in America.' By an English Eyewitness.
o 2 tions

tions of science, and the consideration of our complicated human nature. For much solid information on these subjects, we are indebted to M. Figuier, who (in his new work, of which two volumes are presented to the public) has brought together a large amount of historical and scientific research, and to Dr. Hecker, whose 'Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' translated by Dr. Babington, is a marvel of patient investigation. We shall not apologize for presenting our readers with the result of their labours, hoping to show that these phenomena are of the body rather than of the soul, that they follow the usual physical laws, and are productive of the same deplorable results.

It is easy to gather from ancient history numerous illustrations of the facts relating to the mysterious border-land between soul and body. The belief in divination, in the power of oracles, in sibyls, and thaumaturgists, did not fundamentally differ from many of the superstitions of our own days. The Greeks and Romans were greedy of the marvellous. Their 'cultus' bore a close affinity to their realization of the spiritual world, and their images (as the word *εἰδωλον* betokens) were the thoughts of their minds expressed in matter. During the progress of their arms, the superstitions of the Romans never abated, and Horace in vain appealed to them by the axiom of 'Nil admirari.' All polytheistic nations believed in the incarnation of the Deity. In the poems of Homer, the gods figured side by side with the heroes. In vain do we attempt to discover profound combinations in these fantastic mythologies. As well (remarks Ernest Renan) might we seek for the serious and positive in the dreams of an infant. The worship of the earliest Greeks consisted in a deification of matter. They had not yet learnt to distinguish between their own sensations and that nature which appeared to them as if animated. The first men could not discriminate between the outward and the inward, and hence they constructed those wild myths which the moderns have vainly attempted to solve. 'In wonder,' says Coleridge, 'all philosophy began;' nor need the profound sensation caused in Pindar's mind by the mysteries of Ceres strike us with a sense of the ludicrous. During this pantheistic confusion everything seemed miraculous, and the wisest men hurried with beating hearts to watch the Pythoness in her hysterical convulsions. Plutarch tells us that these oracles could only prophesy after protracted fasts, and after breathing the exhalations of the damp earth. Sometimes the excitement of the brain which followed was so violent as to bring on insanity or sudden death. Cicero, however, lamented that the earth had lost its mysterious virtues in his time. Latterly, these fits of convulsions were imitated by successful impostors, and became analogous to the melodramas of Mesmer. Demosthenes did not hesitate to accuse the Oracle of receiving bribes from Philip of Macedon.

In

In the monotheism of the Semitic races, the conceptions of the imagination were sterner and grander. The ancient Arabian was the earliest mystic. Alone with the mirage of the desert, amidst trackless sands untrodden by human foot, the monotonous uniformity of the landscape impressed his mind with awful sensations of sublimity. The Egyptians were attracted to the arts of magic by a singular predilection for the mysterious. They worshipped the Spirit of Evil, through whose power they professed to subvert the order of the natural world. In India, a Brahmin of the sacerdotal caste was always regarded as a 'spiritual medium,' and the Hindoos to this day are skilful in reducing themselves to peculiar bodily states, supposed to be inspired. In like manner, the worship of the Yogis resembled the degrading asceticism of the monks of Mount Athos. According to the system of Zoroaster, the whole world (spiritual and material) was supposed to be impregnated with the 'oel,' or the substance of Deity. The gods themselves were the first emanations from this 'uncreated essence'; and a second order (the 'spirits of the air,' subdivided into good and evil) filled up the interspace between them and the earth. On this vast system of demonology were founded the theories of the Chaldeans, the Pythagoreans, and the Alexandrian magicians.

At the downfall of paganism, many doubtful seekers after truth groped wildly after the supernatural as the only relief from uncertainty. St. Justin speaks enthusiastically of the skill of 'Simon of Samaria,' who endowed statues with powers of walking, and remained himself uninjured in the midst of flames. Not less marvellous were the exploits of 'Apollonius of Tyaneus,' who seems to have been subject to curious hallucinations. Tertullian alludes to chairs and tables, which were reported to prophesy in his times; whilst Iamblichus and Plotinus were strangely familiar with spirits. Their theurgy attached great importance to symbols and cabalistic formulas.

It is remarkable that when Christianity penetrated into Gaul, the Druid priests being found in possession of the gift of exorcism, the power of these unfortunates was without hesitation ascribed to sorcery, and they were immediately drowned or burned. This was bad enough; but as the ages rolled on, and as the primitive simplicity of Christianity became more and more defiled and obscured by the increase of heresies and abuses, we may observe the progress of superstition advancing to a corresponding degree. The penitential frenzy of the Crusades became a widely-spread and spiritual epidemic. The effect which was in this instance produced by the fiery preaching and vehement will of Peter the Hermit may indicate the true medium of communication in these cases; *i. e.* the powerful operation of mind upon mind. But as great a religious convulsion, unequalled

unequalled in absurdity and extent, followed the pestilence of the Black Death.

Physical diseases have often been productive of extraordinary moral effects. The plague at Athens (of which Thucydides and Hippocrates have left us interesting accounts) was accompanied by a remarkable change in the conduct of the inhabitants. Every barrier of propriety seemed to be broken down, whilst the doctrines of the Sophists sprang at once into maturity, and were productive of the worst results. During the plague of Constantinople, and that of Florence (described by Boccaccio), a contrary effect was remarked. Every profligate seemed to be awed into temporary decency, and the most ungodly became religious in their desire for personal safety. These various effects were probably to be ascribed to the difference of religious belief. Amongst the Athenians, the faith in a future life was too unsettled and vague to serve as a rule of conduct. Stung into madness by the intoxication of danger, they reasoned, ‘Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!’ ‘Thus,’ as Dr. Hecker observes, ‘the presence of danger will bring about a change beneficial or detrimental according to circumstances, causing natures to sink lower or rise higher in the scale of civilization.’

During the disease (which was called in Europe the ‘Black death,’ and in Italy ‘La mortale grande,’ or the ‘Great mortality’), the infection was so terrible that men and women abandoned their nearest relations, and all ties of kindred were forgotten. No medicine brought relief to the sufferers, whilst many were struck as if by lightning, and died on the spot. In some of the towns of England only a tenth part of the inhabitants remained alive. Europe lost 25,000,000 of people, nearly a fourth part of her then population. Physical portents preceded the disease, which were calculated to strike dread into the minds of the timorous. In China there were earthquakes and parching droughts, succeeded by swarms of locusts darkening the air. The pestiferous winds were said to be charged with a poisonous odour. Mists and foul vapours spread over sunny Italy. The order of the seasons was inverted, whilst meteors in the skies increased the superstitious terror. A horror as of darkness fell upon the minds of men. In vain did Clement VI. promise absolution to the dying. Want and misery, famine and fever, let loose the furies of fanaticism, and destroyed, in the minds of many, all feelings but a longing for self-preservation. Kings forgot their treaties, morals deteriorated, covetousness increased, and monastic discipline was everywhere relaxed. The danger of infection was augmented by cowardly fear, and many died of the shock at the first appearance of the distemper. Nor was this all. To distorted imaginations, it seemed as if hell were yawning to fill her capacious maw

maw with the dead ; and an awful sense of contrition fell upon the Christian world. The conventional ceremonies and luke-warmness of the Established Church were powerless to arrest the popular excitement ; and soon a fearful opposition to priestly authority uprose in the ghastly sect of the 'Flagellants.' These 'Brothers of the Cross' paraded the cities in procession, robed in sober garments, and carrying before them burning tapers ; whilst the people flocked from all quarters to witness the severities of their penitence. On they marched, amidst the ringing of bells, and swinging lashes of the scourges, chanting the solemn hymn, of questionable orthodoxy,

‘ Whoe'er to save his soul is fain,
Must pay and render back again.
Ye that repent your crimes draw nigh,
From the burning hell we fly.’

On they marched, striking terror into the hearts of the beholders, whilst women and children, shrieking with delirium, rushed wildly to join their ranks. These were soon swelled with honourable ladies, nobles, and ecclesiastics. Children of the tenderest age flocked to the standard, whilst the poorest and the most depraved were unable to resist the infatuation. Night and day the hills and mountains resounded with sobs, cries, and wild hysterical laughter. They carried aloft the instruments of their torture, whilst the road was marked with the blood which flowed from their wounds. After a time the plague ceased. The dead were lamented and forgotten ; the world began to repeople ; but the minds of men had received a shock not so easily to be overcome. The processions of the 'Flagellants' still continued ; and they propagated the grossest delusions under the sanction of religion. Their leaders began to lay claim to high spiritual power, till the general indignation put bounds to these excesses, and measures were adopted by Pope Clement and the Emperor Charles IV. to interdict the continuance of such public penance. This, however, did not happen till their gloomy fanaticism had instilled fresh poison into the minds of the desponding people. Amongst other disastrous consequences of this popular excitement, the unfortunate Jews were accused of poisoning the water, and demanded as victims of the public rage. They were pursued with merciless cruelty, and often burnt alive. The Jews in Basle were enclosed in a wooden building, and burnt without trial or sentence. At Spires they set fire to their own houses, and consumed themselves with their wives and children ; whilst at Strasbourg 2,000 suffered together. Revenge and desperation filled the hearts of the religionists, whilst the humanity and moderation of the few were powerless to stem the tide of fanaticism. These violent feelings had scarcely subsided, when another strange delusion took possession

sion of the minds of men, and the 'dancing mania' began to spread in the Netherlands and Germany. Men and women joined hands and formed circles together, seeming to lose all control over their senses, and jumping in the wildest insanity. During these paroxysms, they raved of beatific visions, and conjured up spirits by name; till they would fall to the ground reeling in exhaustion. This demoniacal disease, commencing with epileptic convulsions, was propagated rapidly over the whole civilized world. Delusions of the most abnormal nature quickly resulted, from the deranged health of the sufferers. The increasing derangement of the physical organization was followed by unnatural and local sensibility. Particular colours (such as scarlet or crimson) would irritate the 'St. John's Dancers' like infuriated animals; whilst in the disease of 'tarantism' music exercised a miraculous influence in calming the spasms.

This wild infatuation affected all classes of society. Peasants left their ploughs, and girls abandoned their parents; whilst gangs of impostors wandered about the country, imitating the contortions of the sufferers, and increasing the violence of the complaint. In 1418, Strasbourg was visited by this plague, and cures were said to be worked by the aid of 'St. Vitus,' a Sicilian youth, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian. On the other hand, since it had been the custom, from as far back as the fourth century, to celebrate the day of 'St. John the Baptist' by bodily exercises, and mystical relics of heathenism, the first fanatics quoted the name of St. John in the unsightly contortions which they indulged; whilst thousands of a wretched and oppressed population tried to quiet their consciences, and vent their despair in this frantic and artificial delirium. Latterly the St. Vitus's Dance (being attended by hysterical shouting, and occasional loss of intellect) was attributed to demoniacal agency. Tarantism (another form of this mania which appeared in Italy) was attributed to the bite of a spider—called by the Romans 'tarantula'—a popular delusion which threw no light on the real nature of the disease. Those who imagined themselves bitten, became affected with religious melancholy, and a peculiar susceptibility to music. These symptoms were followed by nervousness, irritability, and spasmodic dancing. Charitable persons hired musicians, whose trade was to play for the relief of the sufferers; and under the violent exercise excited by the harmony, it was supposed that the poison of the tarantula was exhaled from the skin. The abhorrence of certain colours, and morbid sensibility for sound, were strikingly united. The music was of a kind peculiarly suited to the complaint. Measures in the Turkish style, commencing stately and slow, but winding up to a pitch of frenzy, have been preserved to this day. This nervous disorder, with all the additions of self-deception

deception and imposture was of long duration. It is worthy of remark, that an hysterical affection very analogous to it began to spread during a revival in the Shetland Isles, which took place in the last century, and was speedily cured by an appeal to the sense of shame, and the plentiful application of cold water.

A more striking instance of a similar disease occurred in the cases of the 'convulsionnaires' among the Jansenists.

It is unnecessary to enter on the history of the protracted religious dissensions which waged for many years between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. It is sufficient to observe that the cardinal points of difference between the two parties were based on doctrines which were held by many who were esteemed orthodox during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but which were afterwards disallowed by Rome, as incompatible with her creed. The fear of schism, and the value attached to church unity by Jansenius and St. Cyran, were strong enough to check the growth of the reformed opinions they advocated; whilst on all important doctrines, such as redemption, free grace, absolution, and the efficacy of the eucharist, their opinions were fundamentally opposed to those which were taught by the disciples of Loyola. In their hatred of the lax morality of the Jesuits, the monks of Port Royal carried their austerity and self-mortification to immoderate lengths. In the contest which took place respecting the book of their founder, these ascetics were treated with a cruel severity, calculated to increase the intensity of their faith. The peaceable convent of Port Royal became the scene of these horrors: nor can we wonder that, excited by their sufferings, and infected by the superstition of their age, the simple nuns should gladly have hailed the appearance of a miracle, which (for a time at least) set them free from the power of their adversaries. The convent of Port Royal possessed, amongst other relics, a thorn from the actual crown supposed to have been worn at the Passion. By the application of this holy relic to her diseased eye Mlle. Perrier (niece of the celebrated Pascal) was suddenly relieved of an ophthalmic complaint, hitherto pronounced to be incurable. Medical men attested the reality of the miracle; which, by-the-by, owed its 'getting up' to the devices of a certain Sœur Flavie Passart, who afterwards turned traitor to the community. But the credulous nuns were only too ready to welcome the interposition of Providence on their behalf. The fame of the cure spread far and wide, and for a while the Jesuits did not dare to renew their attacks on a community so favoured by heaven.

The peace, however, was not of long duration. Louis XIV., whose tender conscience was ruled by a Jesuit confessor, was in haste to renew the hostilities. The power being all on one side, the rest was easily managed. The innocent nuns languished in

cruel

cruel captivity. Their convent was razed to the ground, and the ashes of the dead were torn from their resting-place. As the king grew older and more irritable, the necessity of insuring for his precious soul a short road through blood to heaven, grew more and more important. Severities were redoubled, and finally, by the propagation of the bull 'Unigenitus,' the defeat of the Jansenists was consummated. Not content with this triumph, the Jesuits bragged of their miracles. The tomb of James II. (the ex-king of England, who died at St. Germain) became the scene of astonishing cures which were worked by the holy dust. But this was an argument which was also open to their adversaries, and the language of miracles became the only mode of protest left to the Jansenists for relieving their oppressed consciences. They had not long to wait for an opportunity, which was afforded by the sudden decease of a celebrated ascetic of their party—the holy deacon, 'St. Francis of Paris.' The mortifications of this worthy by far exceeded those of St. Bernard, or St. Francis de Sales. His childhood was marked by a saintly precocity, manifesting itself in a dislike to all learning, and the common-sense duties of life. Arrived at manhood, he crossed the wishes of his relations by his invincible determination to take upon himself monastic vows. Abandoning all riches, he lived like a penitent, visiting the sick, and denying himself the necessities of life. The excesses of Madame Guyon, or of St. Catherine of Sienna, were nothing to the vagaries of this mystic. He would take long journeys in the worst weather, and would cover his body with burning sealing-wax. Hearing of another maniac (M. Journus), who excelled him in enormities, he travelled miles in search of this successful self-tormentor, knocking at his door, and crying out, 'You shall not save yourself alone!' The science of Christian mortification (as M. Figuier remarks) gained greatly by the interview between these two heroes, and after it the austerities of the deacon were increased. He slept scarcely a quarter of an hour at a time; he drove nails into his quivering flesh; and yet (wonder of wonders!) was still miserable and dissatisfied. At last, when (like the Irishman's horse) he had brought himself to living on about one straw a day—the astonishing consummation of all was, *he died*. Let us draw a veil of pity over a tragedy too painful to admit of caricature.

Such was the miserable suicide, whose emaciated corpse was to work the miracles of St. Medard. Thousands flocked to his tomb. The earth taken from the cemetery was thought to possess miraculous virtue. The women who were carried lame or paralytic to the grave would suddenly rise with convulsive movements, and often begin to dance.

These convulsions soon began to affect the healthy as well as the

the sick. Crowds of devotees attended the tomb, shouting 'Hosanna to the holy deacon!' and men as well as women fell raving in spasms. The cemetery was soon the scene of leaping and screaming. France was scandalized by these uproarious assemblies, and government interposed to shut the graveyard. This measure only heightened the excitement. Wits scribbled on the walls of St. Medard,

'De part le roi, defense à Dieu,
De faire miracle en ce lieu.'

The disorder spread rapidly to the provinces, and the number of 'Convulsionnaires' was computed at 800. Strange phenomena were connected with this frenzy. In their normal condition, the healthy organs of the body receive similar impressions, under similar circumstances. But in some states of deranged health, (as M. de Boismont has remarked*) these organs may become subject to illusion and delusion. Existing objects may be distorted, or imaginary ones invented, which exist only for the sufferer. So it happened during the epidemic of St. Medard. Strange visions were seen. Strange noises were heard. The women fell into states of clairvoyance, and were able to predict the time they would remain insensible. During these attacks extraordinary tortures might be endured by the sufferer, whose senses were stupefied, as if by chloroform. Two or three women actually underwent crucifixion. Nearly all experienced such abnormal sensibility, as to be accompanied with intense pain, and to require assistance from brethren, commonly called 'Secourists.' The sufferers mewed like cats, and bent their bodies into unnatural forms, swallowing burning coals, and prophesying in hysterical raptures. They would endure hundreds of blows with bars of iron; and planks were often placed on the bodies of delicate girls, supporting the weight of twenty or more adults. Such tortures would only add to their feelings of delight. These sensations were produced by the perversion or vitiation of physical sensibility. There was nothing miraculous in these enormities. Socrates recognized the intimate connexion between pain and pleasure; whilst Locke records the case of a certain Irishman, who flew into a rage whenever he saw the man who rescued him from the luxury of drowning. But to the excited Jansenists these wonders were portents from heaven. Scenes of fanaticism took place unprecedented in the annals of mankind. In their morbid avidity for the miraculous, men seemed to lose all sense of common humanity, and stood with satisfaction to see delicate women writhing in tortures, scarcely equalled by those of the Roman gladiators. Many became idiotic. Others expired from prostration. 'Here is the grand convulsion,' murmured one of the

* 'Explanations of Apparitions and Somnambulism.' By M. de Boismont.
sufferers,

sufferers, feeling herself dying. ‘God be praised—it is over at last!’ In many of the extraordinary details we must allow for the exaggeration of prejudiced witnesses. Upon some invalids, the convulsion of the system seems to have produced a beneficial effect; though many of those reported as cured, suffered returns of their former disorders, and others died of the violence of the epilepsy.

Other cruelties were exercised in the same century, through the dominant belief in demoniacal possession. The Romish priests, confident of their descent from the apostles, claimed the right of asserting lordship over unclean spirits. From the earliest ages of the world, disease had been referred to this origin. In the language of the Greeks the word ‘dæmon’ signified either a hateful or a benevolent spirit; but to Christians the expression was wholly evil. The female slave who possessed a spirit of divination (analogous to the ventriloquism of the Pythoness) was restored to her right mind by the holy indignation of St. Paul, whom the so-called ‘exorcists’ professed to follow. And though it may be admitted, past the possibility of controversy, that the dawn of Christianity marked the darkest crisis of these mysterious maladies, it has ever been difficult to demonstrate beyond a doubt the fact of their actual cessation. Neander and Trench refer to modern missionary accounts, of something like the same phenomena taking place in heathen countries till this day. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the belief in sorcery became excessive. A sick person suffering from nervous maladies was considered as possessed of the devil, and sentenced to be burnt alive. Innocent people were condemned without evidence. After the punishment of Joan of Arc, two other young girls declared themselves also to be inspired. One of these Amazons had the prudence to retract, but the other was condemned to the flames. The propagation of a bull by Innocent VIII., in 1484, entitled inquisitors to commence persecutions against witchcraft. This decree was productive of the most curious results. Monomaniacs hastened to denounce themselves, and invented the most horrible stories of the enormities which they had committed. Forty-five of these wretches were burnt at one time. Their fate attracted but little notice in an age when 3,000 heretics were slaughtered by Philip II. These ‘stryges’ (as they were called) pretended that they were transported on broomsticks by night, to diabolical meetings. Their fantastic accounts of these gloomy orgies furnished Shakespere and Goethe with the groundwork for their wild inventions. These unfortunate women carried frogs concealed about their clothes, and fancied themselves transformed into cats. In this delusion they were imitated by the ‘Lycanthropes,’ a sect of religious maniacs described by the learned Burton,* who,

* ‘The Anatomy of Melancholy.’ By Democritus Junior.
howling

howling like wolves, would conceal themselves in graveyards and charnel-houses. This infection spread quickly to the surrounding convents, where the nuns imitated the cries of animals, and piteously bleated like sheep. Agitated by fear or sympathy, these miserable women lost all control over their own wills, and were impelled by irresistible impulses to bite and scratch one another. Those who suffered under such agonies were ordered by exorcists to denounce the name of the sorcerer who tormented them. Compelled, like poor Topsy, to ‘fess’ where there was nothing to be told, in desperation or revenge they would pronounce the name of some unfortunate person, whom no presence of mind could save from his inevitable fate.

The demonomania which excited the Ursulines of Loudon has particularly attracted the attention of physiologists. The disease commenced with somnambulism, during which the nuns left their beds, and climbed on the roofs of the houses. Nightmare and delirium succeeded, accompanied with spectral illusions. The abbess of the convent (Jeanne de Belfiel) belonging to a noble family in France, declared herself possessed with a legion of devils. Being exorcised in Latin, she denounced in that tongue one Urban Grandier—a Jesuit of high rank—who through the independence of his character, the beauty of his person, and the *hauteur* of his manners, had made himself many enemies. Being thrown into prison, he appealed against the injustice of his sentence, and a division amongst the false witnesses caused him to be set at liberty. But being unable to bear his triumph with moderation, the malice of his slanderers was again aroused by his imprudence. The devils recommenced their accusations; and in spite of their solecisms in Latin, and the failure of their attempts to prophesy, they gained the Cardinal Richelieu on their side. Aided by the jugglery of skilful exorcists, the nuns performed astonishing feats and manœuvres. When these failed, the devils had one answer for the sceptical, ‘*Nimia curiositas.*’ The dialectical skill of the unfortunate Grandier, and the indignant rebukes of a medical man named Duncan (who appeared to be in advance of his age), were equally in vain. The excited crowds poured in thousands to the convent of St. Ursula: the thirst of blood was awakened, and Grandier was arrested. During the trial, it was in vain that the conscience-stricken nuns protested they had accused an innocent man. The priests declared that such confessions were only fresh artifices of the devil. According to the custom of the times Grandier was examined by torture, but refused to accuse himself of crime. Being promised a commutation of the sentence to the flames, and finding himself deceived at the last moment, he addressed himself in desperation to the principal of the forsaken priests. ‘There is one Judge in heaven, before whose

whose bar I cite thee to appear.' A short time afterwards this 'Father Lactance' seemed to be overcome by depression of spirits, and died in violent convulsions.

After this tragical drama, the malady of the Ursulines continued to increase. The epidemic was accompanied with the usual phenomena—the seeing of visions, the speaking of unknown tongues, and the augmentation of physical force. Letters of blood appeared on the hand of the abbess. Apparently these seizures were of a cataleptic nature, and without attributing intentional imposture to these nervous girls (who, after prolonged fasting and exciting thoughts, may have imagined themselves to see and feel all that they described), it is evident what a dangerous opportunity for treachery was afforded to the 'Barnums' and impostors, who made a traffic of their infirmities. As to the claim to the possession of new faculties following on these states of magnetic somnambulism, the evidence is unsatisfactory, and there was probably a transmission of signs between the exorcists and their patients.

The acuteness of particular faculties in abnormal physical conditions is, however, singularly illustrated by the history of the Huguenot prophets, of whom M. Figuier has collected some curious anecdotes. No independent party in any kingdom ever merited more tolerant treatment than the reformed burgesses of France. The sect of French Protestants was composed of pious, honest, and industrious citizens, who were animated by conscientious scruples, but who would rather have laid down their own lives than risen as insurgents against the legitimate authority of their king. But these pacific intentions could not mollify the cruel resentment of a grandson of Philip II. The men who had enriched their country with their labour were termed 'monsters of heresy'—their religious meetings were pronounced to be 'cradles of pestilence and synagogues of Satan.' The magnificent Bourbon, troubled in his illicit amours by the stings of his conscience, is forced to quiet this inconvenience by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Protestants are hunted down like runaway slaves. They are tortured in secret, and deprived of their children. Their emigration is forbidden; their wives are surrendered to the brutality of the soldiery; their priests are confined in damp dungeons, chained to pillars which suffer them neither to lie nor to stand. The infirm and sickly among them are tortured till they retract in the agony of their sufferings; and meanwhile, from groaning thousands, a terrible cry goes up to heaven, 'How long, O Lord? how long? Avenge thy scattered saints!'

We have not patience to record the shallow excuses made for these cruelties by the panegyrists of Louis XIV., nor to cite the pompous

pompous periods of Bossuet, in which he is compared to Constantine—the saviour of the church. To the glory of Fénelon be it acknowledged, that he alone had courage to raise his voice in stern condemnation of such criminal excesses, which religious women like Madame de Maintenon could witness and approve. For a while the Huguenots bore up against their afflictions with unexampled courage and patience; but the cruelties practised against them were suited, with diabolical calculation, to numb and depress every energetic tendency of the mind. Their fathers were sentenced to the galleys; their marriages were declared void; their children were considered as bastards; and the comforts of their worship were forbidden them under the most horrible penalties. The strongest minds could not bear up against such overwhelming pressure, and bodily and mental prostration soon succeeded to their former spiritual exaltation. The belief that Divinity would interpose in their favour, grew into a monomania. Torn from his people by persecution, one of their aged pastors had exclaimed, ‘Fear not. The Spirit of the Lord will never abandon you. If we are taken from you, He will speak by the lips of women and children.’ These words were literally accepted, and engendered a sort of preaching delirium. To excited imaginations the hills and the mountains echoed with unearthly voices. A party of fanatics went about advocating long fasts, and prophesying from the pages of the Apocalypse. Women fell into a state of ecstatic sleep, and preached during somnambulism. The ‘beautiful Isabeau’ (a girl of eighteen) was one of the first to be so affected. She would preach sunk in so profound a lethargy that the application of hot irons could not recall her to her senses. At these times, her features (otherwise irregular and ordinary) would seem as if transfigured, and be lighted up with an unearthly beauty. On awaking from her trance, she would remember nothing she had said, and show no power of eloquence. The ‘gift of the Spirit’ was soon communicated far and wide. Children of six years old would preach, and admonish their seniors. Animated by the promises of their prophets, the Calvinists began to pluck up spirit, and instead of yielding themselves quietly to their tormentors, they routed large forces of their enemies. The appearance of these wild recluses issuing from their fastnesses in the mountains, with streaming hair, outstretched hands, and countenances lit up with unearthly joy, crying in tones of thunder, ‘Arrière Satan!’ was such as to strike terror into the hearts of the merciless soldiery.

For a long time they maintained a doubtful contest under their leaders Roland and Cavalier; but being at last overpowered by the number of their enemies, and routed by the superior military skill of the generals who were sent to defeat them, this insurrection in

in the desert was at last suppressed. Multitudes of the unfortunate prophets were burnt alive, whilst others carried their supposed gifts into the lands of their exile.

During this obstinate struggle the ‘enfants de Dieu’ (as the prophets were called) represented a sort of military theocracy. Everything was delivered into their management, and the people had the utmost confidence in the reality of their inspirations. In his ‘Letters on Enthusiasm,’ Shaftesbury ridicules the contortions of those prophets who took refuge in England. This ecstatic illuminism was invariably accompanied with tremblings and spasms. After a while the convulsive violence gave way to a calmness and serenity of demeanour when the prophet commenced his exordium, beginning always in the same manner, ‘Je te dis, mon enfant ; je t’assure, mon enfant.’

Sometimes this state of ecstacy was artificially produced, by one of the initiated breathing into the mouth of a neophyte, with the words, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit !’

It is worthy of notice that these ecstatic conditions invariably commenced by the sudden falling down of the sufferers, as if they had been struck to the ground by some unseen force.

The limits of this paper preclude the possibility of considering the analogous cases which have occurred in the middle ages, and more modern times. Many of those who attended the preaching of Tauler in the fourteenth century, were found lying prostrate in states of insensibility. During the sermons of Wesley and Whitfield, such was the violence of the feeling aroused in their auditors, that they fell on all sides, and often remained for hours in death-like swoons. In the fourteenth century the monks of Mount Athos produced a great sensation by throwing themselves into states of ecstacy. Their method consisted in fixing their eyes steadily upon one spot, by which means they imagined themselves surrounded with uncreated light (the essence which shone upon Mount Tabor), and thought they were transported into the holiest of holies. About the same time the sect of the ‘Free Spirit’ told wonderful stories of their own miraculous powers. By depriving themselves of food and sleep, they managed to remain for weeks in trances, and deliberately believed themselves to be inspired, and to have attained to a state of perfection.

The desire for dancing and leaping seems often to have been connected with fanatical hysteria. The priests of Baal shrieked and leapt in their excitement. The Galli discovered the same method of producing a state of frenzy ; and it is curious that the Methodist Jumpers relieved their hysterical raptures in the same morbid and unnatural manner. The mania for making noises and talking gibberish has always been infectious. The citizens of Athens went about wildly reciting verses, from hearing those of Euripides.

Euripides. Congregations flocked to Mr. Irving's church, in later days, and were taken with the infection of raving. Shrieks and maniacal exclamations are heard during the camp-meetings of America. Jonathan Edwards, in his account of the revival in New England, in 1734 and 1735, describes the converts as 'yelling for mercy.' This account, couched in the 'technical phraseology of Puritan divines,' relates the wonderful effect of sympathy amongst the people: but attaches no value to the visions of imagination.

Dr. Copland remarks that partial insanity may be propagated by infection. In times of religious excitement, suicides have often been common. Some of the Mullerites who, in 1844, expected the end of the world, sat up all night in their shrouds, determined to be prepared for the event.

If such phenomena as these were to become general, the machinery of society would be stopped, 'the lands would lie untilled, and men might return to a barbarous state.' Derangement of the senses, ecstacies, and hysterical affections were not enumerated by the apostle in his account of the fruits of the Spirit. Amongst these we may notice a precise mention of that moderation or 'temperance'—that habitual inner self-government, with which the Christian should regulate his passions and affections, and be able to resist the temptations arising from religious terror or epidemical delusion.

ART. II.—1. *Tobacco; its History and Associations.* By F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. 1859.

2. *Tobacco; its Use considered with reference to its Influence on the Human Constitution.* By Andrew Steinmetz, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1857.

3. *The Narcotics we indulge in. No. VIII. The Chemistry of Common Life.* By J. F. W. Johnston, M.A.

4. *Mr. Solly's Letters in the 'Lancet,' February 1857.*

5. *Tobacco. Lecture by the Dean of Carlisle, 1859.*

TOBACCO hath three stages. In the first it is a matter of luxury, in the second of indifference, in the third of necessity. And here lies the pith of the matter in three lines. Mr. Steinmetz is a votary of tobacco, and pleads eloquently and pleasantly in its favour. Mr. Fairholt takes a middle course, and holding the scale in equal hands, confines himself, as far as possible, to the history of tobacco and pipes, &c. Mr. Johnston almost exhausts the subject in his valuable work, 'The Chemistry of Common Life,' while Mr. Solly is a vigorous and damaging opponent to the Virginian weed. With an ample field in which to exercise his powers of observation, endowed with a practical intellect, and copious and energetic speech, armed with an imposing professional celebrity, he

has unsparingly denounced the use of tobacco in all its forms, in a series of letters to the 'Lancet'; while Professor Laycock, a man of European reputation, has endorsed the assertions contained therein, and re-echoes the word from the northern metropolis. To lay the finger on the exact line where weakness degenerates into wickedness, and where wickedness develops into crime, is a very difficult matter; but the after consequences all who are not wilfully blind can see, and every one of moderate intelligence can reflect on; and that physical and moral deterioration is invariably and rapidly the result of disobedience to the laws of God, the laws of man, and the laws of nature, few will wish or be able to deny. To the advocate of extreme liberty it has been well said, that if 'whatever is, is right,' nothing that has been was ever wrong; and by pushing this theory to its logical consequences, we reduce it to an absurdity. It must be borne in mind, that if no one be sufficiently sure that his way is right and other ways wrong, there would be neither cause nor inclination to check anything in this world; and all coercion, either physical or moral, must necessarily cease. However much, therefore, we may, for the sake of blunting the edge of the bitter intolerance natural to man, advocate the theory of extreme personal liberty according to the tenets of Mr. J. S. Mill, practically we must and do act differently. Bearing all this in mind, we shall endeavour to investigate our subject impartially, and to consider, first, the evidence as to the increasing appetite among us for narcotics; and, secondly, its probable influence on the social condition of mankind.

Probably few of our readers are unacquainted with those excellent maps of physical geography in which the geological formations, and the diversifications of the climate and productions of each country are, by means of different colours, distinguished at a glance. On the same principle there are maps of Great Britain containing the result of the laborious industry of our Registrar-General, in which the social condition of our people is placed in evidence. Those counties are distinguished from the others, where morals are at a low ebb, and illegitimate births are reported as being above the average; where ignorance of reading and writing prevail, of which the number of marks instead of signatures to the marriage-registers are one means of proof; and where the number of convictions for crimes of violence are in excess. There are also, we believe, in course of preparation maps of our sanitary condition, in which the localities where the greatest amount of preventible death occurs will be pointed out, distinguishing between that which arises from neglect or carelessness in the use of machinery (as happens frequently in our manufacturing counties), and death from miasma, the effect of inefficient or defective drainage, or endemic disease, such as appears constantly in certain marshy districts.

Mr.

Mr. Johnston has in his work given a small map—very incomplete, however, and which might be greatly improved—in which the different countries are marked where narcotics are used, as also the particular drug selected. We give the details in a tabular form :—

Siberia	Fungus.
Turkey, India, China, and many civilized nations	Opium.
Persia, India, Turkey, Africa, Brazil	Hemp, haschisch.
India, China, Eastern Archipelago	Betel nut, betel pepper.
Peru, Bolivia	Coca.
New Granada, the Himalayas	Red and common thorn apple.
Asia, America, and all the world	Tobacco.
India, Florida	Emetic holly.
England, Germany	Hop, tobacco.
France	Lettuce, tobacco.
Tobacco, as used among 800 millions of human beings.	
Opium	400
Hemp	200 to 300
Betel	100
Coca	10

Thus we find that almost every nation has its narcotic, in which sometimes the male only, sometimes the male and female indulge. We find, further, that there everywhere exist among them those who totally succumb and fall victims to the habit, become completely degraded, lost, and brutalized ; that these usually die early and in great torture. Such are the *coquero*, or coca-eater ; the *Theriaki*, and others of whom we shall have more to say anon. To return to tobacco. Its chemical ingredients are three in number—a volatile oil, a volatile alkali, and an empyreumatic oil. The first has the odour of tobacco, has a bitter taste, and, when taken internally, causes giddiness, nausea, and vomiting. The alkali is nicotin : it is an acrid, burning, narcotic poison, of which a single drop is sufficient to kill a dog. The proportion contained in the dry leaf is from 2 to 8 per cent. A hundred pounds of the dry leaf produce seven pounds of nicotin. In smoking, therefore, one hundred grains of tobacco, from two to seven grains of one of the most subtle poisons known are drawn into the mouth. Being extremely volatile, it is also present in the smoke, and to this circumstance is doubtless owing the inconvenience which many people experience when exposed to the fumes of tobacco.* The steadily increasing practice of the use of tobacco among us is a remarkable fact ; and when viewed in connection with the prevalence of the debilitating type which now characterizes all disease, becomes also a suggestive one. Some profess to see in it only a coincidence ; others maintain it is cause and effect. We shall endeavour to lay the evidence on either

* The *Atropa Belladonna*, or common potato, is a member of the same family as the tobacco plant ; and there may be obtained from the leaves *E. Solanine*, a similarly acrid and narcotic poison, two grains of which would prove a fatal dose.

side before our readers, so as to leave them to draw their own conclusions. The figures stand thus for Great Britain and Ireland, as indicated by our Custom-house returns:—

Years.	Total Consumption.		Population.	Consumption per head.
	lb.	oz.		
1821	15,598,152	21,282,960	11·71	
1831	19,533,841	24,410,439	12·80	
1841	22,309,360	27,019,672	13·21	
1851	28,062,841	27,452,692	16·86	
1853	• •	29,737,561	19	

If we take as our guide the average of the last two quotations—and there is little to make us suppose we should err in doing so—we may suppose that the home consumption has now reached 35,000,000 lb. annually, making it 25 oz. per head. Upwards of 8,000,000*l.* are annually spent on tobacco in Great Britain.* The duty paid on it amounted in 1858 to 5,272,471*l.* It exceeds the sugar duties by 575,350*l.*, and is 200,000*l.* above the excise on malt, long the prime prop of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.† That the quantity of tobacco actually consumed is considerably greater than that indicated by the above returns, we may infer from the fact that a tolerably large contraband trade is carried on in spite of Custom-house vigilance. We must now touch on our great commercial sin—that of adulteration, with reference to the subject. Mr. Prescott, in his valuable work on tobacco, announces that, among other things extensively used in adulteration, are the leaves of rhubarb, dock, burdock, coltsfoot, beech, plantain, oak, elm, peat, earth, bran, sawdust, malt rootlets, barley meal, oat, bean, and pea meal, potato starch, and chicory leaves steeped in tar-oil, cabbage and lettuce leaves, the latter especially for cheap cigars. A parliamentary return, made in 1853, adds the following to the above list: sugar, alum, lime, saltpetre, fuller's earth, malt-commings, chromate of lead, peat, moss, treacle, common salt, endive leaves, lamp-black, gum, red dye and black dye, iron, and liquorice.‡ From these well-authenticated statements we may reasonably infer that though 8,000,000*l.* are annually spent in Great Britain for genuine tobacco, at least a third more is laid out in purchasing the above disgusting rubbish. The Custom-house may

* Of this the Scotch contribute 6000*l.* per annum for snuff.

† In Vienna, 52 millions of cigars are consumed annually. In Hamburg, with one-third of the population, 14,600,000 cigars. The entire consumption for Austria amounts to 1000 millions. Rome has the fewest tobacco-shops of any large capital (*vide* Fairholt, 'Tobacco, and its Associations'). In Denmark the consumption of tobacco is 4½ lb. per head. In Belgium 4¾ lb. per head. In New South Wales, where it is admitted free of duty, it is about 14 lb. per head. (*Vide* Johnston's 'Chemistry').

‡ A few years ago a cigar manufacturer was enabled to resist with success an attempt to enforce the legal penalty from him for the unlawful sale of 'Havannah cigars,' by demonstrating that he had never on any occasion used the tobacco leaf at all.

indicate the quantity of tobacco used ; but from this reason, it can give no idea of the number of smokers, or the amount of filth, not absolutely poisonous, that the purchaser of the spurious article draws into his mouth and lungs. It may be useful to notice the extreme severity with which our forefathers of Europe viewed the introduction of tobacco, before the sensual pleasures which it offers had had time to gain votaries. Oviedo (*vide note, 'Historia General de las Indias,' 1526,*) speaks of smoking among the Indians at Hispaniola. He mentions it as an evil custom, a thing very pernicious, used to produce insensibility ; and a friar, who accompanied Columbus in 1494, says they drew up powder of tobacco through a funnel into their nose, which purged them much. Another writer says : 'So much do they fill themselves with this black smoke, that they lose their reason. See what a wicked and pestiferous poison from the devil this must be !' Urban VIII. excommunicated those who took snuff or chewed tobacco in a church. The sovereigns of Persia and Turkey decreed death to smokers. In Russia, the offender's nose was to be cut off ; while in Berne it ranked next to adultery, and there was a distinct tribunal for trying this species of offence. The somewhat pedantic and violent *Counterblaste* of our own monarch King James I. is too well known to quote here. He it was who raised the duty from 2s. to 6s. 10d. per lb., which at that time almost amounted to a prohibition of tobacco. Lastly, old Burton gives us his opinion in the following quaint form : 'A good vomit I confess ; a virtuous herb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used ; but as it is commonly abused by most men which take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health, hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul.'

We now proceed to lay before our readers the evidence for and against the custom of smoking tobacco, premising, however, that the first is almost wholly negative ; its advocates admitting that it is an expensive habit, but asserting that it is a pleasurable one, and beneficial to health *rather than otherwise* ; while against it we have a mass of very strong testimony, subscribed to by the highest authorities, including the names of Prout, Brodie, Bright, Laycock, Pereira, Orfila, Trosseau, Ranking, and Professor Lizars. Mr. Steinmitz appears to have smoked with success for dyspepsia. His average quantity was eighteen cigars per diem. He states that his appetite, digestion, and health are absolutely perfect ; that he is neither bald nor gray ; that he never drinks, and is never depressed ; has no headache, and enjoys excellent sight ; that he is forty years of age, and has lived thus for many years. He admits, however, that occasionally his mouth and tongue were excoriated ; and advises those who may have smoked too much to take camphorated spirits of wine, sugar and water. Camphor, he adds, is said to be an antidote

antidote to tobacco. From his allusion to the probability of an antidote being required, it is to be supposed that he regards tobacco as a poisonous agency ; and as, in another part, he states that he frequently takes camphor, or sugar and water, it is to be presumed that he has found it needful to resort to the antidote. This is the whole pith of Mr. Steinmitz's personal testimony, and it amounts to this, that he has for many years, and at a great expense, indulged in an excessive taste for a narcotic with amazing impunity. In ten years he must have spent upwards of 1,000*l.* in cigars alone. We have remarked that the evidence against tobacco is of a very positive nature. The great increase among us, of late years, of a particular class of diseases—such as apoplexy, mostly serous (as contrasted with that of seventy years ago, sanguineous), palsy, paralysis ; and, again, neuralgia, epilepsy, and insanity—seems to point out the fact that some debilitating influence is busily at work. Whether our increased consumption of narcotics be a cause or a symptom of debility, it equally concerns us to arrest the degenerative process at present undermining our social condition. Mr. Solly speaks of the confirmed smoker suffering excessively from dyspepsia, liver complaint, nervousness, and general atrophy. He considers that the nervous system is soothed at the time, only to be rendered more feeble and irritable afterwards ; and adds, that if the habit continues to advance in England, as it has done for the last ten years, that the English character for practical energy will be much deteriorated. Neither does he hesitate to ascribe the enormous increase of general paralysis to the use of tobacco. ‘Young smokers are mostly pale and meagre,’ says another writer ; ‘confirmed smokers are generally of bad complexions, and suffer from diseases of the heart and stomach. When deprived of their accustomed dose, they experience the greatest discomfort, irritation, or depression of spirits.’ According to Dr. Laycock, they are often troubled with heat, redness, and tears in the eyes, spasm of the orbicular muscle of the eyelid, with photophobia, or intolerance of light. ‘Shattered nervous system, premature loss of mental vigour, impaired memory, mental alienation, are too often the well-defined results of excessive tobacco-smoking. These are facts that cannot be ignored when considering the question at issue.’* Dr. Prout says : ‘Tobacco disorders the assimilating functions in general, but particularly, I believe, the assimilation of the saccharine principle. Some poisonous principle, probably of an acid nature, is generated in certain individuals by its abuse, as is evident from their cachectic looks, and from the dark and often greenish-yellow tint of their blood. The severe and peculiar dyspeptic symptoms produced by inveterate snuff-taking are well known ; and I have more than once

* *Vide ‘Journal of Psychological Medicine,’ April 1857, page 179.*

seen such cases terminate fatally with malignant disease of the stomach and liver.' It is stated that cancer in the lip is frequently induced by smoking pipes; others, however, maintain that this disease is as common among women as men, which goes far to disprove the assertion. It is, however, certain 'that ulceration of the lip, gums, cheeks, throat, of a very loathsome and disgusting character, has followed the smoking of cigars or pipes that had been used by diseased persons.* German physiologists have computed that out of twenty deaths of men between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, ten originate in the waste of the constitution by smoking, and that the impaired vision which so early necessitates the use of spectacles among Germans is referable to this practice. In the 'Lancet' we also find it asserted that so fearfully is the tobacco on the Continent adulterated with opium, that smokers are at one and the same time consuming opium and tobacco. It does not admit of doubt, that the cadaverous, ill-coloured, bilious appearance of the American is to be attributed to his generally wretched digestion, arising partly from the haste with which he swallows his food, but mainly from the quantity of tobacco-oil introduced into his system by his constantly chewing and smoking, and from the enormous waste of saliva consequent. As we have before remarked, insanity has been mentioned as one result of smoking tobacco. Against this it is retorted, that female lunatics preponderate slightly over the other sex. But this argument contains an obvious fallacy, which lies in overlooking the important question of hereditary influence. Men become fathers of families, and in proportion as insanity increases among men, it will also among women. The point is therefore, Has not insanity generally increased among both sexes? The laws which regulate the transmission of hereditary taint are fixed and invariable; and madness appears to be especially a malady which descends surely and fatally from generation to generation. Bearing on this, we append an extract from the 'Lancet,' February 14th, 1857: 'In no instance is the sin of the father more strikingly visited on the children than the sin of tobacco-smoking. The enervation, the hypochondriasis, the hysteria, the insanity, the dwarfish deformities, the consumption, the suffering lives and early deaths of the children of inveterate smokers bear ample testimony to the feebleness and unsoundness of the constitution transmitted by this pernicious habit.' It is a generally-received and well-authenticated opinion, that tobacco is a powerful anti-aphrodisiac. In this respect it presents a marked contrast to Indian hemp. Dr. Pidduck states that at the St. Giles' Dispensary, 'leeches were killed instantly by the blood of smokers; that they dropped off dead immediately they were applied. In con-

* *Vide 'Lancet,' January 31, 1857.*

tradiction,

tradiction, however, to this, we must state instances to the contrary to our own knowledge are very frequent. Another argument is brought against the use of tobacco, viz., that it mostly accompanies intemperance of another kind ; and that the man who smokes generally drinks also, owing to the excessive dryness of the mouth and fauces, and consequent thirst produced by the action of the drug. This is a serious charge, but does not appear to our mind quite free from flaw. Mr. Steinmitz says emphatically, ' *Nicotiana* does not love the bottle !' The Asiatics, the Turks, and the French are much more sober nations than we can boast ourselves to be, but they use tobacco in a very much larger proportion ; neither could smoking have influenced the hard drinking of our Saxon forefathers, since the custom was then unknown. The truth is, we take it, rather that smoking and drinking are idle and sensual habits, and that the sort of men who do the one are the sort likely to do the other. If the man who smokes is led to associate with the man who smokes and drinks too, the dread of appearing singular, and the false spirit of good fellowship, and the natural force of example, will soon undermine even long-practised habits of self-control. That the immoderate use of tobacco does not entail terrible consequences few are bold enough to question, and we call on our readers to note the striking resemblance visible in the following descriptions made by travellers. First, the *Coquero*, or confirmed chewer of the coca leaf of South America :—

' He betakes himself for days together to the silence of the woods, and there indulges, unrestrained, in the use of the weed. The inveterate *coquero* is known at a glance. His unsteady gait; his dim and sunken eyes encircled by a purple ring; his quivering lips, and his general apathy, all bear evidence of the baneful effects of the coca juice taken in excess.'—*Vide* Von Tschudi.

Again, we have a portrait of the miserable and distorted *Theriaki*, or confirmed opium-eater of the East :—

' A total attenuation of body, a withered yellow countenance, a lame gait, a bending of the spine, frequently to such a degree as to assume a circular form ; glassy, deep, sunken eyes, betray the opium-eater. The digestive organs are in the highest degree disturbed ; the sufferer eats scarcely anything ; his mental and bodily powers are destroyed ; he is impotent.'—*Vide* Oppenheim.

Here is the victim of tobacco :—

' Desperate smokers are pale and livid ; their teeth are black ; their lips blue ; their hands tremble ; their muscles are without vigour. They are bereft of energy and decision. The mucous membrane of the mouth becomes vascular and swollen ; irritation sets in with hemorrhage. This causes the great number of bleeding : stomatitis common among military men.'—Levy, *Traité d'Hygiène*.

Is there not sufficient resemblance in these graphic pictures of degradation to make a man think twice before he gives way to an enslaving habit which may end so terribly for him ? Now we have a great objection to losing our ease by overstating it. One man would cure the evils of our age by cheap baths—another by tracts. One says we have too many bishops—another asserts we have

have too few. One man thinks Sunday concerts would regenerate the people. One proposes compulsory education—another is content with enforced vaccination. Here church-rates are the root of all evil—there dissent is anathematized. Our poor law and our pew rents—Roman Catholic aggression, and the adulteration of food—the want of education—and over education, dress, drink, and drainage, have severally been denounced as the crying sin, the chief plague-spot of society. In this way a large amount of unsystematic earnestness has been called into play; but owing to a restricted vision, and the want of what the Germans call ‘many-sidedness’ of character, it has not accomplished so much good as might have been looked for. We do not, therefore, call for legislative interference—we do not believe that the certainty of penal consequences would prevent men using narcotics, so long as they regarded vigorous health as less desirable than sensual pleasure. A young and thoughtless mind hardly reflects on the consequences of creating for himself a new want, and commencing a selfish and expensive habit which all own to be difficult to relinquish. Aristotle has indeed said that no man chooses the evil instead of the good, knowing it at the time to be so; and abstractedly, and in a certain sense, this is true—for a judgment may be vitiated to that extent when a fleeting, dreamy, sensuous pleasure appears for the moment preferable to any moral advantage. But there is another mental condition recognized by psychologists, the weakening in the powers of choice, ending in total loss of volition. It is well known to physicians, and is exhibited chiefly in the drunkard and the dyspeptic, in the victims of melancholia, and uniformly in those who are slaves to any one pernicious habit. Thus moral causes, no less than physical, entail the same weakness of the voluntary power; the tyranny of habit produces the same impotent lamentations and cries of distress as the terrible phantom hypochondria, or the ghastly avenger *delirium tremens*. Ask the drunkard, the lunatic, the hypochondriac, the slave of tobacco, of opium, or hemp, why he does that which injures him, the response is for ever the same: ‘*I cannot help it—I can do no otherwise.*’ ‘Bid a man paralytic in both arms to rub them briskly together,’ says Coleridge, ‘and that will cure him.’ ‘Alas!’ he would reply, ‘that I cannot move my arms is my complaint and my misery.’ So far the evidence may be said to apply only to the excessive abuse of tobacco. Let us examine whether it bears on the moderate use, and if so, in what degree. That it is a narcotic in its nature, and in its concentrated form a virulent poison, is confessed by all: that its habitual use has a *tendency* to vitiate the secretions and debilitate the nervous system will hardly be denied;*

* A gentleman noted for his boldness in riding to hounds, assured us that he never smoked on hunting mornings. ‘If I take my half pipe of cavendish, I’m that

that its action is detrimental rather than otherwise to the liver and stomach is a well-authenticated medical fact. That whatever causes these results has also a *tendency* to develop a cachectic condition, and materially shorten human life, is a logical conclusion from which we can hardly escape. Rabelais, indeed, affirmed that there are more old drunkards than old physicians: that may be so; but it proves nothing, since there are probably more drunkards, young and old, than there are men in any given profession. That some smokers attain to an advanced age is incontestable; but it is no less true that the majority do not; and that those who accomplish it are rarely free from those diseases to which we have alluded; and in any case their children suffer. ‘Such as the father is, such is the son; and look, what disease the father had when he begot him the son will have after him.’ *Ut filii non tam possessionum quam morborum sint hæredes sint.* ‘When the complexion and constitution of the father is corrupt, then,’ saith Roger Bacon, ‘the complexion and constitution of the son must needs be corrupt; and so the corruption is derived from father to son.’

It would be idle to recapitulate the long list of eminent names of those who indulged and those who abstained—to urge that Sir Isaac Newton smoked, and Napoleon did not; it is more to the point for each man to consider how far the question bears on his own health, brains, and purse; and whether it is wise and expedient for him to begin a habit, which, it is well to remember, is a most difficult one to relinquish; and the want of which is never felt before it is commenced. It may be said that little of this applies to the poor working man or out-door labourer, who spends his few pence on an ounce of shag, or to the young man of fortune, to whom cigars at 50s. per lb. are mere bagatelles; since the first resorts to tobacco often for the sake of staving off the gnawing of hunger; and for the last, if they will waste their time, their health, and paralyze and pervert their intellect—their senseless extravagance does at any rate benefit the exchequer. But it does appeal, and strongly, to those with whom life is earnest—who are willing and anxious to do their work in the world. Above all, it addresses itself to the young men who have, in trades, professions, or in skilled labour, to work for their livelihood as their best necessity—in these days a stern and uphill struggle in the face of desperate and numerous competitors. Is it for them to create a new want—one which is certain to be expensive, craving, and constant; and deliberately bind themselves as slaves to the tyranny of habit? The case of Mr. Steinmetz, we

nowhere at the death that day,’ he said; ‘it spoils one’s nerve.’ And an eminent surgeon informed us that he had found it necessary to relinquish the habit of smoking from the tremulousness of the hands which it induced.’

may

may admit, is an extreme one ; and few men can, for even a short period, smoke eighteen cigars per diem without entailing consequences too severe to face. But we will suppose a young man, with a salary of 150*l.* per annum, smokes three cigars daily, that will cost about 9*d.* per diem ; and that will amount to nearly 14*l.* per annum. In ten years' time the money so squandered will be 140*l.*—a sum sufficient, if well employed, to raise him greatly in any position or sphere—or, again, had it been saved and placed at interest, it would go far towards furnishing a house. That man, then, will have thrown himself some ten years back in accomplishing the natural and legitimate desire of having a house he could call his own. A young fellow smoking cigars, in lodgings, and living on his salary, has not such a bad chance, it may be thought, at twenty ; but at thirty-five he assumes a different aspect, and the world regards him with a more critical eye. He has no status in society ; no balance at the savings bank ; no wife, and little prospect of one ; no very settled habits : in short, he possesses only a considerably diminished respectability, combined with a knowledge that the general verdict is already recorded against him, and that friends and foes regard his career as a failure. That the argument in favour of tobacco is purely negative, we have, we conceive, demonstrated ; and it is undeniable that hardly one old smoker will recommend any one to commence the custom. ‘It’s a bad habit, my lad—I wish I could give it up, but I can’t,’ is the general admission. Again, it is not only an expensive practice, but, be it well remembered, the money so spent is for a purpose purely and entirely selfish. It affords no gratification to wives or children. If a man abstains from smoking in his own house (perhaps a misfortune when the habit is inveterate) the neighbouring public-house or the whist club receives him ; and he thus deprives his family of that encouragement, society, and counsel which they have a right to expect. A man may urge truly that his pipe of tobacco costs but little ; but to this it may be replied, that the short, black cutty and ounce of cavendish, is the end, not the beginning ; that the initiation is longer and more costly in the classes to whom these remarks apply, owing to the foolish vanity of young fellows in the fashion and variety of their meerschaums. In that part of London which corresponds to the *Quartier Latin* of Paris, it would be amusing, if it were not rather melancholy, to observe at the pawnbrokers, among the books, legal and medical, the instruments, surgical and scientific, many a goodly silver-mounted meerschaum pipe, the pride of the most empty-headed of our students.* We have adverted to that

* It should not be forgotten, that whatever money a man expends on cigars, the chances are at least equal that he has purchased wholly or in part some of the abominations referred to in the commencement of this paper.

which has been well called the tyranny of habit—incontestably the one to which we all most easily succumb, and which we find most difficult to throw off. The terrible craving, the physical irritability, and the mental discontent experienced by the habitual smoker, deprived of his tobacco, are the same in kind, though less in degree, as what the opium-eater endures under similar circumstances. ‘I know it is destroying my liver, but I cannot do without tobacco,’ said one patient to his doctor. ‘I cannot refute your arguments,’ exclaimed the well-known Robert Hall, when presented by Clarke with his pamphlet on the subject; ‘I cannot refute your arguments, and I cannot give up smoking.’ ‘Conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless, and hopeless,’ says Coleridge, ‘and you will form a tolerable notion of my state.’ With this recorded experience before us, who dare assert that from being a votary he may not become a victim? Which of us can trust himself to say to that tide of dreamy, selfish indulgence, ‘Hitherto, but no further shalt thou go?’ And what is the object aimed at? To procure a temporary annihilation of thought. To condemn for a brief period that brain to cerebral idleness which God has assuredly given us for very different purposes. ‘Of what do you think when you smoke?’ demanded a traveller of a Turk. ‘Of nothing,’ was the reply. ‘Shall we not have all eternity to rest in?’ asks one great modern apostle of work. Those who after carefully weighing the evidence come to the conclusion that the excessive and increasing use of tobacco is pernicious, will, as is natural and desirable, endeavour to propagate their views: to recognize the evil, and, calmly regretting the abuse, to preserve silence on that which leads to the abuse would be a false tolerance, a lamentable quietism. A good sentiment, which is allowed to remain inactive, might, for all practical purposes, never exist; and to such Carlyle’s eloquent apostrophe is addressed: ‘Beautiful cheap gossamer gauze; thou film shadow of a raw material of virtue, which art *not* woven nor likely to be into duty; thou art better than nothing, and also worse.’ If it is not possible to make all men act wisely, they could at least be taught that there is a wise way and a foolish one: or shall we continue on our present course until our state will be that so quaintly described by old Burton: ‘For now by too much facility, too much liberty and indulgence in tolerating all sorts, there is a vast confusion of hereditary diseases; no family secure; no man almost free from some grievous infirmity or other.’ So it comes to pass that our generation is corrupt; we have many weak persons both in body and mind; many feral diseases raging among us, crazed families, *parentes peremptores*—our fathers bad, and we are likely to be worse.’

ART. III.—*Robert Owen and his Social Philosophy.* By William Lucas Sargent, Author of ‘Social Innovators,’ &c. London : Smith, Elder, and Co.

THE strong feelings which are excited when the schemes of an innovator are first propounded ; the blind worship of the disciple and the hypercritical contempt of the antagonist, effectually hinder unprejudiced criticism. It is not until time and trial have brought out latent defect, and discovered hidden beauty, that men see the truth amid the error, and, whilst rejecting the innovation, think kindly of the innovator. There is a strange dualism in human nature, the old tale of the shield endlessly repeated. We see one side and unhesitatingly affirm it to be gold, when perhaps the opposite presents, not silver nor even copper, mayhap a conglomerate, ‘iron mixed with miry clay.’ But time softens down prejudices, thank God ! buries personal hatreds, and when death has done his work, we forget the discord of years in the quiet which no passion can disturb, and the old feelings come back again, with the voice and face we used to love. It is so with Robert Owen, the philanthropist and the visionary. Mr. Sargent has put the two before us, if not with brilliancy, with truthfulness ; and we must thank him for not sacrificing fact to partisanship, and for not courting popularity at the expense of truth.

The life of Robert Owen serves, in several respects, to throw light upon his philosophy. His half-education, as well as his early success, are clearly discernible in all his sociology. By education we do not mean school-learning, for then the modicum of it which fell to his lot could scarcely merit so high a distinction. The dominie of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, his native place, considered his pupil, at the age of seven, sufficiently advanced in learning to undertake the responsible position of ‘assistant master and usher’ in the school. Still, though a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic—the first four rules—is not considered all that is now necessary for an assistant master and usher, Robert was a sharp boy ; and during the two years in which he was engaged in tuition, read a great many books, came under the influence of two Methodist ladies, ‘who tried to convert him to their persuasion,’ indulged in theological discussion, and wrote three sermons.

‘In his old age he related with grave simplicity that he kept the sermons until he became acquainted with Sterne’s works ; that he found among these, three discourses so much like his own “in idea and turn of mind,” that fearing to be regarded as a plagiarist, he destroyed his own. Impartial critics will not easily believe that the Welsh child was a formidable rival of the pithy Irishman.’

At the age of nine he went to London, and after staying there six weeks, took a situation with a Mr. McGuffog, quondam hawker, now draper, at Stamford. Here he was treated with great kindness,

ness, learnt much which stood him in good stead in after-life, and had leisure for five hours a-day reading. At Stamford, his passion for memorializing government seems first to have manifested itself; and his fancied success may have done much to confirm his faith in such modes of redressing evil. He addressed a letter to the prime minister, Mr. Pitt, on the subject of sabbath desecration, and a few days after, was pleased to read a royal proclamation, recommending a more strict observance of Sunday.

At the age of eighteen, we find him in Manchester, engaged in the manufacture of mules for spinning, with a partner and a borrowed capital of one hundred pounds; soon after, spinning on his own account, with three mules, and earning six pounds a week. His next step in life was daring, and had it not turned out successful, would have been thought presumptuous.

‘Going to his little factory on Monday morning, he was told that a Mr. Drinkwater had advertised for a manager. This gentleman, a rich merchant, had lately erected a mill for the finer sorts of spinning, and was filling it with machinery, having a scientific man, Mr. George Lee, for a superintendent. Mr. Lee was enticed away by the offer of a partnership, leaving Mr. Drinkwater, who was ignorant of the business, in a very awkward position. As soon as Owen heard of the advertisement, he put on his hat, and without reflection applied for the situation. He was only twenty, and his rosy cheeks made him look still less. “You are too young,” said Mr. Drinkwater. “Four or five years ago I should have thought so.”—“How often in the week do you get drunk?” (the ordinary vice then of Lancashire, and, indeed, of every shire). “I was never drunk in my life,” replied Owen, blushing. The answer, and the ingenuous manner, made an impression. “What salary do you ask?” “Three hundred a year.” The questioner was astounded; for he had received many applicants that morning, and their aggregate demands scarcely amounted to three hundred a year. Owen declined to take less, and stated that he was making that income by his own business. Mr. Drinkwater asked for proof of this, and receiving it, he made the necessary inquiries as to character, which, of course, met with such replies from Mr. McGuffog and others, as got Owen the situation. The three mules were taken at cost price, and his services were at once transferred to the new mill.’

Here, with five hundred people to overlook, raw material to buy, machinery to construct, and the accounts to keep, his industry, shrewdness, and determination overcame every difficulty: the manufacture was improved, the profits increased, and Owen received an advance of salary, four hundred for the second year, five hundred for the third, and a promise of partnership at the end of the third. This last was not destined to be fulfilled. Mr. Drinkwater preferred a wealthy son-in-law as partner, and offered Owen any salary he pleased to name. The position of manager, however, he would no longer hold, and so left the concern. Several partnerships were now offered to him, and he accepted one in the ‘Chorlton Twist Company.’

In a journey to Scotland, he visited New Lanark, and was so struck with the place, that he said to his companion, ‘Of all places I have yet seen, I should prefer this in which to try an experiment I have long contemplated, and have wished to have an opportunity

opportunity to put in practice.' Had he then already had his first Socialist dream? The proprietor of the water mills at New Lanark was a Mr. Dale; and having had an introduction to this gentleman's daughter, he visited the mills. Morning walks, with a charming young lady, are exceedingly dangerous for a young bachelor; and Owen having indulged, on several of his Scotch journeys, in this perilous pleasure, fell in love. Still, he had never seen the lady's father, Mr. Dale, and the ruse he made use of to gain an introduction was the turning-point of his life. Had it not been for this, English Socialism might never have had its greatest apostle, and Owenism never existed. He called, on pretence of negotiating a purchase of the mills, supposed to be in the market; but in after consultation with his partners, pretence became reality; the 'New Lanark Twist Company' was established; Miss Dale became Mrs. Owen; and Owen himself autocrat of the mills on the Clyde.

And now we must prepare to see Owen, the philanthropist. Already he has deeply felt the ignorance and misery of many of the factory labourers. He has revolved schemes of improvement. He has learnt lessons on education from Lancaster and Bell. What will he do now the occasion has come? Let Mr. Sargent tell us something of the place itself, and then we may judge what he had to do.

'Hands had to be found to work in the mills: no easy task, because the long hours and the confinement were disgusting to the peasantry. Recourse was had to charitable establishments for a supply of children. As many as five hundred of these were ultimately working together, most of whom had been sent from Edinburgh. . . . To obtain a supply of adult labourers, a village was built round the works, and the houses were let at a low rent; but the business was so unpopular that few, except the bad, the unemployed, and the destitute, would settle there. Even of such ragged labourers the numbers were insufficient; and these, when they had learned their trade and become valuable, were self-willed and insubordinate. . . . The pauper authorities insisted that the children, if sent at all, should be received as early as six years old. It was found, or thought, necessary, that these little creatures should work with the other people, from six in the morning till seven in the evening; and it was only after this task that instruction began. The inevitable results followed. The poor children hated their slavery: many absconded: some were stunted and even dwarfed in stature. At thirteen to fifteen years old, when their apprenticeship expired, they commonly went off to Glasgow and Edinburgh, with no natural guardians, ignorant of the world beyond their native village, and altogether admirably trained for swelling the mass of vice and misery in the towns. . . . The condition of the families who had immigrated to the village was also very lamentable. The people lived almost without control, in habits of vice, idleness, poverty, dirt, and destitution. . . . Thieving was general, and went on to such a ruinous extent that Mr. Dale's property appeared to be treated on a regular communistic principle. . . . There was also a considerable drawback from the comfort of the people, in the high price and bad quality of the commodities supplied in the village.'

He began by employing managers who would strictly carry out his principles. The old ones were intractable. He refused to receive any more pauper children. He made such arrangements, that theft was instantly detected: and though actual punishment

punishment was but little resorted to, the influence of shame, consequent on detected guilt, did its work, and more effectually. Taverns were gradually removed to a distance. The shops were improved; the workpeople supplied with better articles, at a cheaper rate. A species of self-government was established in the village. The good results were soon evident. Success was complete.

In 1809 he laid before the partners a plan for the extension of the concern, and for an infant school. The men of business were sufficiently pleased with the proposal of mercantile extension, but hesitated at the philanthropic innovation. They presented Owen with a silver salver, as a token of their admiration, and allowed him to become the purchaser of the mills for 84,000*l.* He was now joined by two relatives of Mr. Dale. These gentlemen thought only of profit; were vastly more intolerant of change than his previous partners had been; and so hindered the carrying out of his schemes that he was compelled to resign his position. The mills were put up at public auction, and were knocked down to Owen, at 114,100*l.*, to the intense annoyance of his late partners, who had been circulating reports, tending to depreciate the value of the property, with the hope of buying it in again for 40,000*l.* In the new firm, there were seven partners; among whom were Jeremy Bentham the Publicist, and William Allen the Quaker.

The account of the first meeting between Owen and Bentham, given by the former, and reported by Mr. Sargant, is so amusing that we cannot help extracting it.

‘ He had already heard of the nervousness of the recluse philosopher, at having to be introduced to a stranger; and he was greatly entertained with the preliminary formalities. First, there were some communications with the intimate associates, James Mill and Francis Place; then some letters between Owen and Bentham himself; and at last it was agreed that at a particular hour Owen should visit Bentham’s “hermit-like retreat,” and that the two should meet half-way upstairs. Hajji Baba and his master could scarcely have made more careful stipulations as to the reception of the great king’s embassy. The instructions were carefully observed, the auspicious point was reached by both gentlemen at the same moment. Bentham, in great apparent trepidation, took his guest’s hand, and said, in an excited manner, “ Well, well, it is all over. We are introduced.” They went into the study, and sat down, much relieved by the performance of the arduous feat.’

It is a mercy for us that we seldom know the opinion even our best friends have of us. Mr. Sargant gives Owen’s opinion of Bentham; let us place in juxtaposition with it, Bentham’s opinion of Owen. Owen says—

‘ He (Bentham) spent a long life in an endeavour to amend laws, all based on a fundamental error, without discovering this error; and, therefore, was his life, although a life of incessant, well-intended industry, occupied in showing and attempting to remedy the evils of individual laws, but never attempting to dive to the foundation of all laws, and thus ascertain the cause of the errors and evils of them.’

Bentham

Bentham says—

‘ Robert Owen begins in a vapour and ends in smoke. He is a great brag-gadocio. His mind is a maze of confusion, and he avoids coming to particulars. He is always the same—says the same thing over again. He built some small houses; and people who had no houses of their own went to live in these houses, and this he calls success.’

The plan of the new undertaking was singularly unique. It was no longer to be carried on as a purely commercial speculation: the profits, after paying five per cent. to the capitalists, were to be employed wholly in educational and philanthropic schemes. Owen already had so won upon the hearts of the people of New Lanark that when he returned, they offered to him a perfect ovation; dragged his carriage along, and illuminated the village.

He was now at liberty to do all his heart could wish. The schools were established; and his theories on education, accurate in the main, were put into practice. His first principle—that education cannot begin too early, seeing it begins at birth—was right: the conclusion to which it led him, as we shall see, was wrong. The children were placed, almost, under a Spartan régime. As soon as they could walk they were admitted to the school; and those who could scarcely grasp the simplest truth were taught to feel it, in signs, and pictures, and gentle words. Had he ever read the ‘*Republic*,’ we should have said that from Plato he had learned the early training for the perfect state, and applied it to his schools. Owen became popular. Illustrious visitors crowded New Lanark, and their admiration was unbounded. All the eminent men of the day; the ambassadors from foreign courts; and the late Czar, then the Grand Duke Nicholas, honoured the cotton-spinner with their presence and approval. Her present Majesty narrowly escaped being taken there by her father, the Duke of Kent; who, as long as he lived, appears cordially to have sympathised with, and warmly to have furthered, the educational schemes of Owen. To several contemporaries the honour of the origination of infant schools has been accorded, but there is no claim, we think, so great as that of Robert Owen.

Without following a chronological order, which would compel us to turn to the other and less pleasing side of his character, let us see him again, as a fellow-worker with Howard, Clarkson, Mrs. Fry, and Wilberforce—a worker in the great cause of social regeneration.

At a meeting of Scotch manufacturers held in Glasgow, soon after Owen had entered on his last benevolent undertaking, he proposed that a petition should be addressed to parliament, praying the government ‘ to take into its consideration the condition of the people employed in the textile mills, with a view to shortening their hours of labour.’ This proposition, however, met with little favour. Fearful as was the condition of many of the factory

hands—especially of the young children—Mammon was too strong in the breasts of the cannie Scotchmen. Nothing daunted, he went to London, and communicated with the government on the subject. By his persistency, he got a bill introduced, which in 1819 received the royal assent; and which must be regarded as the first step in that onward march of improvement, in the condition of factory operatives, in which we are still advancing. So far, then, we must give Owen our heartiest approval.

Let us now trace that mental process which transmuted the energetic philanthropist into the dreaming communist and avowed atheist. We have already spoken of the high value he set on early education. He saw, too, that each man is born with a certain organization, and that it depends, in a great measure, on the education what the character will be. From these premises, he deduced the conclusion, that man is irresponsible for his character; that the blessings he may call down upon himself for his disinterested beneficence, and the enormities which may make his name a byword and a curse, are alike to be charged on his organization and his education; and, by consequence, to praise or to punish him is the most irrational thing the human mind can perpetrate. Self-education, self-discipline, and self-sacrifice with him are positive absurdities. Nature, and 'surroundings,' are everything. And this is the fundamental truth in the gospel to regenerate mankind of which he was the self-constituted evangelist. He saw not, that, with such a creed, hope for man was effectually precluded. He believed in no heaven-sent breathing which could stir in the breast of a degraded one some trembling of tenderness, some pulsation of love. He had no explanation to offer of those words of the imperial Hebrew: 'I thought on my ways, and turned my feet into thy testimonies.' He flattered himself he had discovered a truth of which the world till then had been ignorant, when all he offered was a poor rationale of the old heathen doctrine of fatalism. All he could say was, that man was the miserable creature of a blind, omnipotent necessity; a saying which the consciousness of every intelligent being proves a lie.

How, then, can moral advancement be secured? He saw no hope but for the children. These were to be taken from their parents as early as possible: and as education is, to a great extent, the result of example, no inferior example must be seen. We, too, should be glad to see all inferior example disappear; but the question is, How is it to be done? If one part of Owen's teaching is to be taken as the exponent of another, his only hope must be dashed to the ground. He was no optimist. His condemnation of human nature was most complete. In a small volume of essays published by him, entitled, 'The Book of the New

New Moral World,' he expressly states that 'a superior human being, or any one approaching a character deserving the name rational, has not yet been known among mankind. A man, intelligent and yet consistent, in his feelings, thoughts, and actions, does not now exist, in even the most civilized part of the world.' It is for him, then, to tell us whence we are to import these perfect teachers, who are to form perfect characters.

We cannot wonder, then, that, with such views as these, he renounced all faith in Christianity, and, in fact, all faith in God. For several years of his early popularity he maintained a judicious reserve on the expression of his religious views, and acted, as well as wrote, we must say it, a semi-hypocrisy. But at a meeting, on the 21st of August, 1817, held at the London Tavern, he publicly committed himself to atheism: and in the 'Book of the New Moral World,' to which we have referred, he thus expresses himself: 'The religions founded under the name of Jewish, Buddh, Jehovah, God or Christ, Mahomet or any other, are all composed of human laws in opposition to nature's eternal laws.' And then he goes on to trumpet the claims of the unfailing nostrum he was never tired of proclaiming—that man is irresponsible for his character. Such views as these are too contemptible to merit discussion. A man who has no more—we will not say intellect, nor yet moral perception—good taste than to class the abominations of Buddhism, and the sensuality of Mahomedanism, with the transcendent beauty of Christian morality—a beauty winning reverence from its bitterest foes—and, in the face of the wisdom of ages, dare present in its stead a miserable figment of heathendom, is, in this respect, too low for enlightened criticism.

Having laid down the proposition we have already adverted to, that man is irresponsible for his character—that his character is his, despite his will—he does not hesitate to accept the necessary corollary—that to impose any check on the gratification of passion is altogether inhuman. To quote again from 'The Book of the New Moral World'—

'As Nature gives the organization to man, so will Nature best direct when any of the functions of the organization should be exercised. In fact, no other law can be acted upon without injury to the individual and to society. And in proportion as human laws and customs have interfered with the dictates of Nature, in the same proportion has man been forced to become a vicious and miserable animal, and to have the finest and highest qualities of his nature deteriorated.'

Thus does he throw open the flood-gates for an unchecked licentiousness.

How such a doctrine as this must effectually loosen the marriage tie at once appears: and how Owen felt it, may be seen in the following statement: 'He [man in his irrational or present state] has decreed that men and women, whose natures, sympathies, and affections unite them at one time and repel each

other at another, shall speak and act in opposition to these unavoidable feelings ; and thus he has produced hypocrisy, crime, and misery beyond the power of language to express.' In justice to Owen, we must say that he never advocated a community of wives as well as a community of goods, in this, unlike Plato and Campanella. Yet, although he scarcely merited the severe strictures passed on him by the Bishop of Exeter, in a speech delivered in the House of Lords denouncing his system as one of promiscuous intercourse ; neither, on the other hand, ought he to be dealt with so leniently as he has been by Mr. Sargent. The facility of divorce, on the ground of any fancied incompatibility, requiring only six months' notice of intent by either party—a system this, which he did really put forth—were it ever to become law, would be the death-blow of domestic purity and family life. The home-relationships, covenantal because types and pledges of 'things in the heavens,' once trodden under foot, the total rupture of society must inevitably follow. With domestic life, social distinctions must fall ; and so, as Owen says : 'As soon as man shall be thus regenerated, he will discover that the present classification of society into the various grades of the aristocracy, professions, trades, and occupations, is fit only for man in his irrational or first state of existence.'

These were the doctrines of his new religion, doctrines which, once preached to the world, were to work its moral regeneration, abolish ignorance, vice, and misery ; 'enable all to live in superior habitations, surrounded by gardens, pleasure-grounds, and scenery, far better designed and executed than any yet possessed by the monarchs of the most powerful, wealthy, and extended empires ;' and establish a state where 'money would no longer be required to carry on the business of life,' and where 'the character of all women would, by a superior, yet natural training, be elevated to become lovely, good, and intellectual.' That this glorious consummation might be wrought out, he lectured in London and in the provinces. He discussed with savans at Frankfort, at Paris, at Aix-la-Chapelle. He sent his tracts and essays to all the courts of Europe. Indeed, his popularity was very great on the Continent ; but the friends in England, who had joyfully worked together with him as a philanthropist, now sadly were compelled to leave him. His partners ceased to sympathise with him, and in 1829 he finally retired from New Lanark. It had been a great success, and will always be an honour to his name.

We will not stop to discuss his views on spade husbandry, currency, competition, and machinery. They are all fundamentally wrong, although in the latter particular he has the powerful advocacy of M. de Sismondi in his 'Nouveau Principes d'Economie Politique.' It was evident, that for the actual realization of such a scheme,

scheme, embodying so many particulars, the unostentatious philanthropy of infant schools was quite insufficient; a larger field must be sought. The cotton-spinner had become a state-modeller. We have seen the great particulars of his system, let us look at them in a unity, such a unity, at least, as they were ever able to attain, the unity of an Owenite community.

In dealing with such a community, the contrast at once presents itself between the ideal states of the past, and the Socialist schemes of more modern times; between the Republic of Plato and kindred systems of government of which it may be taken as the type, such as³ the *Civitas Solis* of Campanella, the *Utopia* of More, the *Oceana* of Harington, on the one hand, and, on the other, the model states of St. Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen. Their origin is antipodal. The ancient thought of the state as anterior to the individual, and to plan a perfect polity was his aim. The modern, whilst decrying individualism as the remote cause of all the wrongs of humanity, makes it the foundation of his system, by building upon it a communistic paradiseical community. The ancient sought after symmetry rather than possibility. He modelled his ideal State, regardless of its adaptability to the actual. He rejoiced in it as a philosophic harmony. He was no innovator. The modern, with an exaggerated view of the evils of social inequality, and generally ignorant of economical science, proceeds to apply crude theories to existing society, and, whilst intending the possible, is as far from it as the former. He is essentially an innovator.

For the latter, then, a country where society is not deeply rooted, and where revolution is not inseparable from change, is the absolute requisite; and this Owen obtained. He purchased in 1824 an estate, consisting of thirty thousand acres of fertile land, in Indiana, on the Wabash. His colony was styled New Harmony. It was started on thoroughly communistic principles; but these were soon abandoned. An equal distribution of produce in a mixed community is impossible. The industrious and persevering will not share the fruits of his labour with the idle and wayward. Socialism without communism was attempted. But this was only putting off the day of dissolution. The crash came; and Owen returned to England, having lost a considerable amount of his property, but as to his projects, expectant as ever. He again attempted to found a communistic society at Orbiston, on the Clyde. This was to be a village, with the requisite enclosures for agriculture; and buildings for habitations and manufactures erected upon it, in the shape of a parallelogram. In a short time this also failed; the land was sold, and the buildings, which had been put up at a considerable expense, were pulled down and carted away.

We need not follow him in all his smaller schemes. He had only one thought, and to tell that became the business of his life. For

For many years his world was a little one ; the greater one had forgotten him. It would be painful to trace out the ravages of atheism, and failing powers in the mind of a man who had done so much good. Let us only say, that the determined unbeliever was duped by spirit-rapping, and gave heed to a medium. In 1857, he attended the first meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at Birmingham, and in 1858 at that held in Liverpool. Soon after the latter he died, at the town of his birth, aged eighty-seven.

We have said that his half-education, as well as his early success, may be seen in all his projects. Had his mind been well disciplined by systematic study, it could never have cherished the crude theories, nor believed in the heterogeneous jumble, which it loved and ever enunciated. Had his reading been extensive, he would never have asserted, as original discoveries, the old exploded notions of a bygone day. The tone of his mind was French rather than English, and when his popularity was over in his own country, he was reverenced as a prophet by our restless neighbours. His error was the error of his school, of Fourier, of Emile de Girardin, and of Louis Blanc. His American failure finds a parallel in that of M. Cabet. It was in attempting to regenerate mankind, by trying to destroy that which God had made indestructible, human individuality. Social chaos can never be changed to order and beauty by a social earthquake. Social disease is the aggregate of individual sickness ; and it is only by individual cure that the State can be healed. Let pure water, pure air, and the free light of heaven be equally enjoyed by all ; let Mammon be prevented from building for the poor the wretched over-crowded tenements which foster a physical and moral malaria ; let a sound, not showy, education be provided for the very lowest ; let each man be taught 'to fear God and work righteousness' ; and then, without the reconstruction of the social organism, without anarchy, and without revolution, the chaos, as at the end of the six days, shall glow in primeval beauty, and the Maker, well pleased, shall say, 'Behold, it is very good.'

ART. IV.—THE FOUNT OF TRUE POETIC INSPIRATION.

"*Αριστον μὲν οὐδεπ.*—PINDAR, *Olymp.* I. 1.

THE various advantages of water-drinking have been repeatedly discussed and debated in various ways. The physical, medical, and social requirements of man have been reviewed ; and while some have contended for the virtues of the pure stream, others have as stoutly maintained the necessity and enjoyment of a stronger and more stimulating beverage.

But

But another aspect of the question remains. Even when we have proved that the material and physical advantages of life are upon the side of the water-drinker, how shall we meet the objection, which some may urge, that the poetic nature of man is allied to the use of wine? It is generally taken for granted that there is some inseparable connection between Bacchus and the Muses; and this notion is supported by the numerous odes, songs, and lays, which poets have written in praise of drinking. There is, moreover, a kind of fellowship in excitement of all sorts; a certain emotional sympathy produces an alliance among persons of sensitive mind; and it often happens that when men are pleasingly moved, they are not very anxious to ask the reason why. Thus the votaries of wine have claimed a freedom from care, and a triumph over the ills of life, which the world has been ready to believe; and the power of poetry to elevate has been recognized by many who could not always approve the precise subject, on behalf of which that power was exercised.

Thus it is that persons, otherwise sober enough, have sung with Dryden:—

‘ The jolly god in triumph comes,
Sound the trumpets, beat the drums;
Flushed with a purple grace,
He shows his honest face:
Now give the hautboys breath, he comes, he comes!
Bacchus, ever fair and young,
Drinking-joys did first ordain;
Bacchus’ blessings are a treasure,
Drinking is the soldier’s pleasure:
Rich the treasure,
Sweet the pleasure,
Sweet is pleasure after pain.’

And others have repeated with Burns—

‘ Wi’ tippenny we fear no evil,
Wi’ usquebaugh we’d face the devil.’

It were long to recount the various circumstances under which the poets, from Anacreon to Cowley, and from Horace to Burns, have chanted the praises of their favourite god. No time seems unsuited to the worship, no place improper for the service; ‘ Before the fire, if cold it be; in summer, ‘neath the shade;’

‘ Ante focum, si frigus erit; si messis, in umbra.’

Thus Horace advises his friend *Planeus*:—

‘ Sic tu sapiens finire memento
Tristitiam vitaeque labores,
Molli, *Plane*, mero: seu te fulgentia signis
Castra tenent, seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui.’*

Again,

* • *Planeus*, so do thou remember
Still to cheer with balmy wine
All the care and grief and travail
Of this toilworn life of thine.

‘ Whether

Again, he tells Varus :—

‘Siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit : neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiant sollicitudines.
* * * * *

Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat ?
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque decens Venus ?*†

His chief philosophy is to seize the present hour (*carpere diem*), before the Fates cut short the thread of life :—

‘Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
Flores amoenos ferre jube rosae,
Dum res et aetas et Sororum
Fila trium partiuntur atra.’‡

Thus he reminds Quinctius :—

‘Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu jacentes sic temere, et rosa,
Canoz odorati capillos
Dum licet, Assyrioque nardo
Potamus uncti ? Dissipat Evius
Curas edaces.’‡

In another place, he contends :—

‘Qui Musas amat impares
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates : tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
Nudis juncta sororibus.’§

No doubt most of these odes were set to music, and sung by the young men of Rome. Our knowledge of ancient music is so

Whether in the throng'd camp, gleaming
With a thousand spears, or laid
On the turf beneath the umbrage
Of thy loved Tiburine glade.

Martin's Translation.

* ‘For to him who ne'er moistens his lip with the grape,
Life's every demand wears a terrible shape,
And wine, wine only, has magic to scare
Despondency's gloom or the torments of care.
Who's he that with wine's joyous fumes in his brain,
Of the travails of war, or of want will complain,
Nor rather, sire Bacchus, thy eulogies chant,
Or thine, Venus, thine, ever beautiful, vaunt?’—*Ibid.*

† ‘There wine, there perfumes bring,
Bring garlands of the rose,
Fair and too short-lived daughters of the Spring,
While youth's bright current flows
Within thy veins, ere yet hath come the hour,
When the dread sisters three shall clutch thee in their power.’—*Ibid.*

‡ ‘Say, why should we not, flung at ease 'neath this pine,
Or a plane-tree's broad umbrage, quaff gaily our wine ?
While the odours of Syrian nard, and the rose,
Breathe sweet from locks tipp'd, and just tipp'd, with Time's snows.
'Tis Bacchus, great Bacchus, alone has the art
To drive away cares that are eating the heart.
What boy, then, shall best in the brook's deepest pool
Our cups of the fiery Falernian cool?’—*Ibid.*

§ ‘The bard, who is vow'd to the odd-numbered Muses,
For bumpers thrice three in his transport will call ;
But the Grace with her loose-kirtled sisters refuses
To grant more than three in her horror of brawl.’—*Ibid.*

scanty,

scanty, that it is very difficult to say whether they were sung in chorus, or by solo performers; but at all events, their tendency was to unite the charms of song with the worship of Bacchus.

Whatever may have been the manner of singing at Rome, we know that in modern times choral singing has been employed in the same service. In the days of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, the poets and musicians of the day combined their efforts to celebrate the praise of wine; and in the tavern at Temple Bar there was a room called the Apollo, in which some verses were inscribed written by Ben Jonson himself. These verses are remarkable, because Ben openly sneers at those who sit 'watering with the Muses.' He boldly maintains that wine is the true fount of poetic inspiration:—

'Welcome all who lead or follow
To the Oracle of Apollo!
Here he speaks out of his pottle,
Or the tripos, his tower-bottle :
All his answers are divine :
Truth itself doth flow in wine.
Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,
Cries old Sim, the king of skinkers ;
He the half of life abuses
That sits watering with the Muses.
Those dull girls no good can mean us ;
Wine, it is the milk of Venus,
And the poet's horse accounted ;
Try it, and you all are mounted.
'Tis the true Phoebian liquor,
Cheers the brains, makes wit the quicker,
Pays all debts, cures all diseases,
And at once three senses pleases.
Welcome all who lead or follow
To the Oracle of Apollo.'

But the great land of the choral drinking-song is Germany. There the jovial students, with pipe in hand, and *schoppen* of beer before them, chant the praises of wine. Nor must we suppose that the mere carnal love of drink is the prevailing motive. Friendship and choral song are the bonds of union. It is a pity that what begins in poetry should ever end in debauchery.

The constant theme of Rhine and wine is thus celebrated:—

'Am Rhein, am Rhein, da wachsen unsre Reben,
Gesegnet sei der Rhein !
Da wachsen sie am Ufer hin, und geben
Uns diesen Labewein !

'So trinkt, so trinkt, und lasst uns allewege,
Uns freu'n und fröhlich sein !
Und wüssten wir, wo Jemand traurig läge,
Wir gäben ihm den Wein.'*

Another

* 'The Rhine, the Rhine is gladdened by the vintage,
All honour to the Rhine !
Upon his banks the vineyards bloom and give us
This all-refreshing Wine.'

Another poet, proposing the regeneration of society, declares that all the evils of life would be removed, if the world were placed under a Wine Government, according to the following scheme :—

‘ Beim grossen Fass zu Heidelberg,
Da sitze der Senat,
Und auf dem Schloss Johannisberg,
Der hochwohlweise Rath ;
Der Herrn Minister Regiment
Soll beim Burgunderwein,
Der Kriegsrath und das Parlament
Soll beim Champagner sein.’*

Anon, we are warned against a timid participation in Bacchic excitement :—

‘ Nippe nicht, wenn Bacchus Quelle fliesset
Aengstlich an des vollen Bechers Rand,
Wer das Leben tropfenweis geniesset
Hat des Lebens Deutung nicht erkannt ;
Nimmt ihn frisch zum Mund,
Leert ihn bis zum Grund,
Den ein Gott vom Himmel uns gesandt.’†

The reasons assigned why we should drink at every season are whimsical, but not much more so than those which are often urged in earnest :—

‘ Im Herbst da muss man trinken !
Da ist die rechte Zeit :
Da reift ja uns der Traube Blut,
Und dabei schmeckt der Wein so gut,
Ja, im Herbst da muss man trinken.

‘ Im Winter muss man trinken !
Im Winter ist es kalt :
Da wärmet uns der Traube Blut,
Und dabei schmeckt der Wein so gut,
Ja, im Winter muss man trinken.

‘ Im Sommer muss man trinken !
Im Sommer ist es heiss :
Da kühlst uns der Traube Blut,
Und dabei schmeckt der Wein so gut,
Ja, im Sommer muss man trinken.

‘ So drink, so drink, and let us now together
In song and friendship join !
And did we know a poor down-hearted brother,
We'd give that brother—Wine.’

* ‘ Round the Big Tun at Heidelberg,
There let the Senate sit,
And on the hill, Johannisberg,
The Court of mighty Wit :
The Lords and Ministers well steeped
In Burgundy shall be,
The Parliament shall drink Champagne
So generous and free.’

† ‘ Sip not, with anxious caution, at the brim,
When Bacchus' self bestows his glowing flood ;
Who tastes by drops, and dares not enter in,
The power of life hath never understood ;
Drink with ardent soul,
Drain the flowing bowl ;
A god presents us with this heavenly good.’

‘Im Frühling muss man trinken!
 Da ist’s nicht heiss nicht kalt:
 Da labt uns erst der Traube Blut,
 Da schmeckt der Wein erst doppelt gut,
 Ja, im Frühling muss man trinken.’*

As we have hinted, the excitement of the choral drinking-song must not be confounded with a mere physical love of drink. No doubt the two sensations are liable to blend together, to beget one another. But in the old worship of Bacchus there was one remarkable characteristic, namely, that enthusiasm formed an essential part of it. There was a desire of escaping from self into something new and strange, of living in an imaginary world. Hence probably it was that the Greek drama arose out of the worship of Bacchus. Another point worthy of notice is the striving for individual freedom, and the endeavour to rise, even for a moment, above the outward ills of life. The man who seems superior to the fetters of this mortal existence, indulges himself in this fancied advantage. Nay, further, in minds of another cast, there is a desire for a freedom more than that of the imagination; it is an effort to be freed from the shackles of logical consistency. And thus the Persian poet Hafiz, says:—

‘Ask not, “What the use
 Of drunkenness can be?”
 From the chains of intellect
 Drinking sets thee free.’

Thirdly, we have the philosophy, if we may so term it, which dwells upon the shortness of life, the certainty of death, and the wisdom of enjoying the passing hour.

Such sentiments find their most frequent expression in lyrical compositions, and especially in those choral songs which among the Greeks were called *dithyrambic*. The dithyramb was an enthusiastic ode to Bacchus, which had in early times been sung at convivial meetings by the drunken revellers, but was, at a later period, executed by a regular chorus. Its character was always,

* In Autumn man must drink!
 That is the proper time:
 The grape is ripe, we quaff his blood,
 And then the wine smacks very good,
 Yes, in Autumn man must drink.

‘In Winter man must drink!
 In Winter it is cold:
 Then the grape warms us with his blood,
 Then the wine smacks so rich and good,
 Yes, in Winter man must drink.

‘In Summer man must drink!
 In Summer it is hot;
 Then the grape cools us with his blood,
 Then the wine smacks so fresh and good,
 Yes, in Summer man must drink.

‘In Springtime man must drink!
 ‘Tis neither hot nor cold;
 Then cheers us first the grape’s rich blood,
 And then the wine smacks doubly good,
 Yes, in Springtime man must drink.’

like that of the worship to which it belonged, impassioned and enthusiastic. The extremes of feeling, rapturous pleasure, and wild lamentation, were both expressed by it. Archilochus says, that 'he is able, when his mind is inflamed with wine, to sing the dithyramb, the beautiful strain of Bacchus.' Thus the dithyramb was capable of representing every variety of feeling excited by the worship and mythology of Bacchus.

We have admitted that the excitement of the drinking-song is not to be confounded with intoxication in the vulgar sense of the term; and we may add that a love for poetry of this kind is often cherished by those who are not mere sensualists. Nay it often happens that the student, in the solitude of his own chamber, allows his mind to be carried away by an enthusiasm which he would not accept in its grosser forms.

But perhaps this very fact has led to a popular error, and has accustomed many of us to suppose that there is some intimate connection between Bacchic enthusiasm and poetic inspiration. Ben Jonson, as we have seen, presses wine into the service of Apollo, says that it is the true poetic liquor, and, in short, the source of inspiration. But we shall find that, strictly speaking, Apollo presided not so much over poetry in general as over the music of the cithara, and that for the origin of epic poetry we must look to the Muses of Mount Helicon, and to the Pierian springs.

It is of considerable importance to understand this epithet 'Pierian.'

The most remarkable circumstance in the accounts which we have received of the early Greek minstrels, is that several of them are called Thracians: the Thracian minstrels are constantly represented as the fathers of poetry. When we come to trace more precisely the country of these Thracian bards, we find that the traditions refer to Pieria, a district to the north of Thessaly, and the south of Macedonia. Whether from migrations, the pressure of hostile tribes, or from other causes, it is certain that these Pierians must have dwelt about the Boeotian mountain of Helicon; this we find both by traditions in the various cities, and by the agreement of local names (Leibethrion, Pimpleis, Helicon, &c.). In accordance with this we find on Mount Helicon the worship of the Muses, and the Pierian springs on that mountain.

'It is an obvious remark,' says K. O. Müller, in his "Literature of Ancient Greece," 'that with these movements of the Pierians, was also connected the extension of the temples of the Muses in Greece, who, alone, among the gods are represented by the ancient poets as presiding over poetry, since Apollo, in strictness, is only concerned with the music of the cithara. Homer calls the Muses the Olympian: in Hesiod, at the beginning of the "Theogony," they are called the Heliconian, although, according to the notion of the Boeotian poet, they were born on Olympus, and dwelt at a short distance from the highest pinnacle of this mountain, where Zeus (or Jove) was enthroned; whence they only go at times

times to Helicon, bathe in Hippocréne, and celebrate their choral dances around the altar of Zeus, on the top of the mountain. Now, when it is borne in mind that the same mountain, on which the worship of the Muses originally flourished, was also represented in the earliest Greek poetry as the common abode of the gods, it seems highly probable that it was the poets of this region, the ancient Pierian minstrels, whose imagination had created this council of the gods, and had distributed and arranged its parts. Moreover, their poetry was doubtless not concerned merely with the gods, but contained the first gems of the epic or heroic style.'

It is well known that Homer, whenever he alludes to poetic inspiration, always makes reference to the Muse, of whom he speaks in the singular number. If, then, we admit that the Muses were the deities who presided over poetry, we may find it instructive to examine their character, and the nature of their worship. The doctrine of symbolism lies at the foundation of the old Greek mythology; and those who choose to apply this doctrine to the persons, habitation, and haunts of the Muses may derive valuable suggestions for future meditation. We do not, however, lay any great stress on this point, because we can adduce positive evidence that the worship of the Muses was expressly without wine.

Still it will be necessary to state the traditions, in order that the reader may judge for himself. And, first, as to Mount Helicon. Plutarch cites the following legend, descriptive of the character of the two principal mountains in Boeotia:—

‘Helicon and Cithaeron were two brothers, but very different from each other in temper and character. The former was mild and courteous and dutiful to his parents, whom he supported in their old age. Cithaeron, on the other hand, was covetous and avaricious: he wished to obtain all the property of the family for himself. To gain this object, he slew his father, and afterwards treacherously threw his brother down a precipice; but he himself was at the same time carried over the cliff by the force with which he impelled his brother. After their death, these two brothers were, by the will of the gods, changed into two mountains which bore their names. Cithaeron, by reason of his impurity, became the abode of the Furies; but Helicon, on account of his gentle and affectionate disposition, was chosen by the Muses as their favourite haunt.’

‘The natural features of these two mountains,’ says Wordsworth in his “Greece,” ‘are, as might be expected, in harmony with the mythological narrative. The dales and slopes of Helicon are clothed with groves of olive, walnut, and almond trees: clusters of ilex and arbutus deck its higher plains; and the oleander and myrtle fringe the banks of the numerous rills which gush from its soil, and stream in shining cascades down its declivities into the plain between it and the Copaic Lake.’

Thus Helicon was the favourite haunt of the Muses, who are called by Hesiod and Pindar the ‘Heliconian maidens;’ and here was the earliest seat of poetry in Greece Proper. At its foot was Ascra, the residence of Hesiod. The eastern slopes of the mountain abounded in springs, groves, and fertile valleys, while the western side was more rugged.

It was the eastern or Boeotian side which was especially sacred to the Muses, and contained many objects connected with their worship. Ascending from Ascra was a sacred grove of the Muses, and on the left of the road, before coming to the grove, the celebrated

brated fountain of Aganippé, which was believed to inspire those who drank it, whence the Muses are sometimes called Aganippides.

At some distance above the grove, was the famous fountain of Hippocréne, so renowned in song as the source of poetic inspiration. These two fountains supplied the streams called Olmeius and Permessus, which, after uniting their waters, flowed by the Haliartus into the Lake Copais.

Another part of Helicon also sacred to the Muses, bore the name of Mount Leibethrium, where there were statues of the Muses, and two fountains, called Leibethrias and Petra, resembling the breasts of a woman pouring forth water like milk.

Hence Hesiod says, in the opening passage of his 'Theogony':—

‘Of Heliconian Muses let us sing,
Who haunt Mount Helicon, the hill divine,
And round the violet-coloured fountain dance ;
Or round the altar of Almighty Jove.
And having bathed in water of Permessus,
Or Hippocréne, or the divine Olmeius,
They institute their dance and tuneful choir,
Upon the highest peak of Helicon.’

The classical was not the modern idea associated with the word ‘fountain.’ The Greek word *κρήνη* or *κρουνός* is a well-spring or well-head, whence the *πηγαί* or streams issue. The word *πηγή* is used (though rarely in the singular) in the same sense of well-spring ; but the plural *πηγαί* denotes the rills, brooks, or streams, which form the sources of rivers.

Therefore by fountains we are to understand the well-springs which give rise to rills or brooks ; and these rills, in turn, flowing down the mountain-side, not without occasional waterfalls or cascades, made their way to larger streams, and so became rivers. Such were the fountains of the Muses, in which they bathed ; such were the rills which served as the emblems of poetic inspiration.

For the Muses were originally regarded as the nymphs of inspiring wells, near which they were worshipped. They bore different names in different places, until the Thraco-Boeotian worship of the nine Muses spread from Boeotia over other parts of Greece, and ultimately became generally established. As we said, the worship of the Muses points originally to Thrace and Pieria about Mount Olympus, whence it was introduced into Boeotia ; in proof of which we find that the names of the mountains, grottoes, and wells, connected with their worship, were transferred from the north to the south. Hence the fountains Aganippé, and Hippocréne on Mount Helicon, were called the Pierian springs. Near Mount Helicon, Ephialtes and Otus are said to have offered the first sacrifices to the Muses ; and it is very curious to observe that these sacrifices are expressly stated to have been made without wine.

wine. The libations (or drink-offerings) to the Muses consisted of water and honey, or milk and honey. The proof of this is given by the Scholiasts in their notes upon passages which have reference to the worship of the Furies, to whom, as we have seen, the neighbouring mountain of Cithaeron was dedicated.

For example, upon the words *νήφων ἀσίνοις* in Sophocles, (*Oedipus Coloneus*, v. 100,) the Scholiast says: ‘For libations to them (*i. e.* the Furies) are made not with wine, but with water, and their libations are called sober (or wineless, *νηφάλιαι*);’ and he adds: ‘Polemo tells us that sacrifices to some other deities are made without wine, writing thus: “Now the Athenians in matters of this kind are very careful, and observant of religious duties; hence they offer sober sacrifices to Memory, to the Muses, to the Dawn, to the Sun, the Moon, the Nymphs, and the Heavenly Aphrodité.”’

Further on, in the same play, v. 473, when *Oedipus* asks what libation he must offer, the reply of the chorus is: ‘Water and honey: but add no intoxicating drink,’ (*μὴ δὲ προσφέρειν μέθυν*), upon which the Scholiast remarks that the ‘deities are worshipped without wine’ (*ἀσίνοις γὰρ θεαῖς*). The same fact is noticed by *Aeschylus*, in his play of the ‘Eumenides,’ where Clytemnestra, speaking of the service which she has rendered to the Furies, says that she has often worshipped them at the midnight hour, offering ‘wineless drink-offerings, sober propitiations, and banquets celebrated by night on the hearth of fire:’

*χοάς τ' ἀσίνοις, νηφάλια μειλήματα,
καλ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἔχαρα πυρὸς,
ἔθνον ὄφαν οὐδένος κοινὴν θεῶν.*

Now we must remember that each god had his favourite animals, which he liked best as sacrifices; some gods preferred oxen, others sheep, and others goats. In sacrifices made with fire, while the flesh was burning upon the altar, wine and incense were thrown upon it, and prayers accompanied the solemnity. But in sacrifices made without fire, or unbloody sacrifices, as they were sometimes called, the libation or drink-offering played an important part. To some deities the libation was of pure wine; but to the Muses no such offering was presented. The pure Maids of Mount Helicon bathed in the Pierian spring, and received offerings of water or milk, and honey.

We recommend the following points for consideration, not wishing to carry the doctrine of symbolism too far, but still desirous of contrasting the picture with that inspiration which is sometimes held forth as arising amid the fumes of wine. By the old legend, the slopes of Helicon were typical of a mild and gentle disposition, suited to the genius of poetry; the Muses themselves, the presiding goddesses, were represented as pure and refined maidens; Helicon, the hill of the Muses, was remarkable for springs,

springs, rills, and waterfalls ; the water of the Pierian springs (Aganippé and Hippocréne), was believed to convey poetic inspiration to those who drank it ; the Muses were represented as continually bathing in the streams of Mount Helicon ; and it is expressly stated that the sacrifices to the Muses were offered without wine. To this we may add that Mount Parnassus was likewise sacred to them, with the Castalian spring, near which they had a temple.

We have now, at all events, cautioned our readers against the error of mistaking one department of poetry, which, however intense, is not of the highest kind, for the whole range of poetic composition ; and we have hinted that inspiration of a better order may be found elsewhere. On the whole, this article is intended rather as indicating a new field of inquiry, than as exhaustive of the subject. Many branches of the investigation are replete with interest : the principles and the practice of the best poets might be passed in review ; Milton and Wordsworth might be compared and contrasted with Ben Jonson and Robert Burns. Those who have read Shakespeare, without special reference to this question, would doubtless be surprised to find how many curious passages in his dramas have a direct bearing upon the point of our inquiry ; and the admirers of Milton, in revising the pages of 'Paradise Lost,' might feel a new pleasure in marking those passages wherein the poet expresses a decided opinion in favour of abstemious living. His 'Comus,' a grand Temperance Ode, as we term it, has hardly been sufficiently studied with a view to profiting by the moral lesson which it inculcates. That poem has furnished delightful occupation to the musician and the painter ; it may be made still more valuable to the moralist. One good hymn often teaches more sound divinity than folios of the commentators.

We suggest to our readers, both male and female, that it is worth while to examine the classic English poets, from Chaucer to Wordsworth, in order to observe their allusions, (1) to the true origin of poetic inspiration ; (2) to the use or abuse of wine ; and (3) to the praise of water : and we propose to follow out that branch of inquiry upon a future occasion.

For the present we commend the subject to their attention, reminding them of Pindar's aphorism, that 'Best is water ;' and to the ladies we would give a single hint (for a word to the wise is enough), that, if they only reflected how the worship of wine has stolen away the devotion which is far more due to themselves, they would easily understand the symbolic truth of the mythological doctrine, that the sacrifices to the Muses should be wineless libations.

ART. V.—1. *Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools; or a Third Plea, with new Editions of the First and Second Pleas.* By Thomas Guthrie, D.D. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1860.

2. *Punishment and Prevention.* By Alexander Thomson, Esq., of Banchory. London: Nisbet and Co. 1857.

3. *On Juvenile Criminals, Reformatories, and the Means of rendering the perishing and dangerous Classes serviceable to the State.* By Joseph Adshead. Manchester. 1856.

4. *Reports of Ragged School Union.*

5. *Dr. Wichern and the Rough House.* In ‘Good Words’ for July, August, and September. 1860.

RAGGED schools have now existed a sufficiently long period to prove their success. They have been in more or less active operation during nearly twenty years, and have passed through their reformatory ordeal so many destitute and delinquent juveniles as to establish them among the philanthropic institutions of the age. We can now examine their history and reason upon their results, without being considered Utopian. What science has done with the wreck upon the sea-shore in transforming the outcasts of the ocean into valuable chemical substances, useful in the industrial arts, philanthropy has performed with the outcasts of society. The children of the drunken and the criminal, uncared for by their parents, and too long disregarded by the community, have, by means of ragged schools, been transformed into honest and upright characters, a blessing to themselves and to society. No philanthropic movement of the present day has wrought such results in so short a time, at such small expense, and on so extensive a scale. In those towns and cities where the system has been carried out in a way at all likely to meet the formidable evil with which it had to contend, the effects are now visible in the streets, in the police-courts, and in the prisons.

Less than twenty years ago things were very different in streets, police-courts, and prisons. Juvenile delinquency was an alarming evil, rapidly increasing, and threatening to defeat all attempts at the reformation of the gaol and its occupants. Prison statistics showed that there was an annual supply, from the ranks of the young, of between 20,000 and 25,000 to our criminal population. Public thoroughfares presented at every step some ragged urchin soliciting charity. Police-courts had a large proportion of their cases from these mendicant children, many of whose heads scarcely reached as high as the dock in which they stood to be tried. In London, some 30,000 under sixteen years of age belonged to this class; and if the same proportion were applied to other large cities and towns, it would give a quarter of a million who were being

trained to a life of beggary or crime,* and supplying constant occupants for gaols, penitentiaries, and convict settlements, consuming a vast amount of public money in their punishment every year, and becoming a mass of moral corruption sufficient to destroy a country. The law punished them, and levied taxes to pay the cost; but few cared for the youths whose life-habits were forming, or thought that prevention of crime, by the reformation of the criminal, would be better than punishment.

The *causes* of juvenile mendicancy and delinquency were various. *Ignorance* has been proved to have a very close connection with crime. Ninety per cent. of all prisoners could not read or write at all, or could do so in a manner so imperfect as scarcely to deserve credit for an ability to read. There were very few of the juveniles who had been taught. Mr. Horace Mann showed, in his valuable remarks upon our last census, that there were, in 1851, no fewer than *one million* of children not at school, who ought to have been there. These not being occupied with any good, for the most part, were in daily danger of forming habits of evil, and of becoming vicious. *Vagrancy* also added a considerable proportion to the juvenile delinquents. The children of those who had no industrial pursuit, or only the semblance of one, and whose migratory habits were ill-calculated to foster industry, generally became addicted to petty thieving. Our readers will scarcely anticipate the following fact, relative to one of the causes of juvenile delinquency. The Rev. J. S. Brewer, for many years chaplain to St. Giles's Workhouse, London, makes this declaration in one of the 'Practical Lectures to Ladies,' delivered some time ago:—

'Turn to the police reports in our newspapers, or only watch for yourselves the boys and girls who join in the disorders of this metropolis, and fill our prisons—no longer prisons to them—and you will see how imperative it is that something should be done to rescue them. THEY ARE MAINLY THE PRODUCE OF THE WORKHOUSE AND THE WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS. Over them society has no hold, because society has cast them out from all that is humane. They have been taught to feel that they have nothing in common with their fellow-men. Their experience is not of a home, or of parents, but of a workhouse and a governor—of a prison and a gaoler, as hard and rigid as either.'

Separated from domestic influence, inheriting the indolence, and mayhap the vices of their parents, and taught by incompetent instructors, they became an easy prey to temptation when sent forth to earn their own bread. Recent years, we believe, have witnessed considerable improvement in the management of work-

* Mr. Mayhew draws attention (in his 'Great World of London') to the fact, that the proportion of juvenile criminals in London is nearly double that in the rest of the kingdom. The number of persons in England and Wales under 17 is 7,056,699, and the number of criminals under that age 11,739, giving 166 criminals to every 10,000 of the population; but in London the persons under 17 number 839,057, and the criminals under 17 are 3,496, which is equal to 46 in each 10,000, or more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many as in the whole country.—*Thomson*, p. 159. This refers to the convicted criminals only.

house children, and especially in their education. Since Government Inspectors have regularly visited these schools, and since education has risen in importance, the teachers of workhouse children have ceased to be mere inmates of the house, or even returned convicts. What could be expected of the unfortunate youth in unions when under the instruction of a pauper? Yet such was the case. And in one poorhouse school, an infirm old man, himself an inmate, and a *returned convict*, taught forty or fifty children! *Illegitimacy* sent its supply of neglected children to swell the ranks of the mendicant and criminal juveniles. *Heartless* parents, whose improvidence or vice led them to desert their offspring, were, as they are still, the means of adding to the number. *Drunken* parents, more than all others, crowded the streets with vagrants, who were often reduced to the necessity of stealing, when they could not beg their bread. On this point, the following is the testimony of a competent witness, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, in his recent book:—

‘This opens up a dreadful view; and I should fail in my duty if I did not state broadly that most of these children owe their ruin to drink—to the dissipated habits of their parents. Intemperance is the horrid Moloch, the ugly, blood-stained idol to which so many young victims are annually sacrificed. Drunkenness, directly or indirectly, supplies our ragged schools with scholars, and gaols with prisoners, and our poor-houses with by much the largest number of their tenants.’

By this cause alone thousands upon thousands of children have been deprived of a happy and comfortable home, of the affection and care of parents, of the advantage of a common education, and of the very necessities of life. Fifty-eight per cent. of youthful offenders are the offspring of drunken, and eighteen of ignorant and negligent parents. Can we wonder that they deemed friends, society, and God against them? Where love never fondled youthful hearts, and parental care made no provision for their daily wants, and where society spurned them from its door, it was not strange that criminal habits should take root, or that these neglected children began to live by plunder, deception, and begging. Or, still further, do we account it awful, that those who had no shelter but some common stair or shed, and no bread but what they wrung from charity or got by theft, should prefer at times the cell of a prison as a covering for their homeless heads, and the bread and water secured to them there, to the miseries which their freedom brought to them in the streets?

But society paid dearly for this inhuman treatment of children whom their parents drove out of the sacred circle of home. To permit so many youth to be trained up as criminals; to allow them to practise their thefts; to submit to the losses caused by their depredations, and to the cost of their punishment, was a great error in a Christian people. It was more than bad economy. It was

cruelty to our common flesh and blood. It was sin against our common Father in heaven. The annual cost of plunder in Liverpool is said to be not less than 700,000*l.* a year. The revenues of thieves are enormous. The following are authenticated data of the gains of fifteen individuals in a course of years:—

			£
1	Richard Clarke	during a career of 6 years	2,820
2	John Clarke	" 5 "	500
3	Edward Clarke	" 3 "	1,650
4	Ellen Clarke (O'Neill)	" 2½ "	1,550
5	John O'Neill	" 9 "	1,450
6	Thomas O'Gar	" 6 "	300
7	James O'Brien	" 3½ "	1,400
8	Thomas McGiverin	" 7 "	1,900
9	Thomas Kelty	" 20 "	8,000
10	John Flanagan	" 14 "	5,800
11	John Thompson	" 5 "	1,800
12	John Bohanna	" 6 "	1,500
13	J. Shawe	" 3 "	600
14	W. Bulkey	" 7 "	2,100
15	Sarah Dickenson	" 3 "	630
			<hr/> £32,000

One of these was seven times in prison, and was caught fifteen times more, but not convicted, by reason of insufficient evidence. The following are the statements of three years' work in public thieving of large sums only, by Flanagan:—

1838—39.

Value. £.	Where Robbery Committed.	From whom.
20	Concert, Liverpool	A gentleman.
15	Theatre, Liverpool	A gentleman.
11	Zoological Gardens	A lady.
30	Coach-office, Liverpool	Proprietors.
46	Auction, Broughton Road, Manchester	A lady.
30	Auction, Cheetham Hill, Manchester	A lady.
15	Auction, Pendleton, Manchester	A lady.
21	Manchester	Till of liquor vault.
50	Manchester	Till of a public-house.
11	Leek, Stafford.	A shopkeeper.
85	Hanley races	A gentleman.
49	Northallerton fair	A drunken farmer.
12	Liverpool packet	A passenger.
18	Liverpool packet	A passenger.
30	Liverpool packet	A passenger.
45	Horncastle fair	A lady.
17	Leeds fair	A butcher.

1840—41.

10	Lincoln fair	A gentleman.
14	Lincoln fair	Captain of a boat.
10	Spalding fair	A farmer.
11	Horncastle fair	A maltster.
10	Liverpool races	A gentleman.
16	Liverpool races	A farmer.
17	Chester races	A lady.
11	Manchester races	A lady.

1841—42.

1841—42.

Value. £.	Where Robbery Committed.	From whom.
10	Manchester theatre	A lady.
70	Bury fair	A cattle dealer.
250	In street at Manchester	An officer.
15	Knutsford races	A jockey.
30	Doncaster races	A publican.
18	Nottingham races	A butcher.
14	Derby races	Unknown.
13	Crowle, Lincoln	A publican's wife.
12	Caistor, Lincoln	A farmer.
11	Market Rasen	A gentleman's servant.
60	Brigg fair	A farmer's wife.
21	Louth, Lincolnshire	A coachman.

This is but a specimen of what the criminal youth of our land were being trained to do. Regular schools for training them to robbery from the person existed in London. Mr. Vanderkiste, in his 'Six Years in the Dens of London,' a book published eight years ago, states that one man had actually passed *five hundred* youth through his special instruction in the art of thieving. But punishment was also costly. Every man in gaol costs the community between 30*l.* or 40*l.* a year, and each one who is transported costs, ere the expenditure is terminated, some 300*l.* There is, besides, the large outlay required for prisons, police, and judges. Yet it is scarcely twenty years ago since a few individuals began to arrest the evil, and make an effort to prevent crime by the reformation of the dangerous and predatory Arabs of the streets.

It is not to be forgotten that some attempts had been made at an earlier date. JOHN POUNDS, the cobbler of Portsmouth, stands in the front rank as the *Founder of Ragged Schools*. He was a native of Portsmouth, and was born on 17th June, 1766. Till disabled, he laboured as a shipwright; but afterwards pursued the more sedentary occupation of mending shoes. Having a decrepit nephew, he attempted to teach him while he pursued his handicraft; but as it was solitary for his scholar to learn alone, Pounds gathered a few ragged children to share his humble instructions. He had small means, yet he did not weary. His stock of class-books was old handbills and tattered volumes. His scholars were the worst boys Portsmouth could afford—boys who learned their lessons for the sake of the hot potato with which he bribed them. His apartment was scarcely four yards square. Yet with all his disadvantages, John Pounds rescued from misery, blessed with a good Christian education, and saved to society, in the course of his life, no fewer than *five hundred* boys. A similar attempt was made in Weimar by another philanthropist. He occupied a much higher position in society than Pounds. He was a councillor of the Prussian embassy at Weimar, a lyric poet, and an accomplished *littérateur*.

littérateur. Yet as the illustrious FALK contemplated the ragged, dirty, wretched children who were the *débris* of the battles of Jena, Lutzen, and Leipsic, he bethought him of a plan by which they might be transformed into honest men and useful citizens. In 1820, he had three hundred of them dependent on his own means, which a few liberal friends supplemented. He taught them to read, and to learn trades, and to build the house in which they resided. He sent forth many into the community fitted to work for their bread, and to give the example of a good life.

ROBERT YOUNG, the founder of the Philanthropic Society, began to care for the children of criminals in the year 1788. ‘He took,’ says Mr. Adshead, ‘in succession four small houses at Hackney, for their reception, and placed in each a mechanic or artisan to instruct them in useful labour.’ Captain BRENTON founded the ‘Children’s Friend Society’ for the reformation of juvenile offenders, but the system pursued did not succeed well. The institution at Redhill, which arose from the efforts of Mr. Young, passed many youths through its training; seventy per cent. of whom have been saved from a vicious and criminal career. Much of its success in late years is due to the excellent Secretary, now Inspector of Reformatories, the Rev. Sydney Turner.

But it is to the enlightened and patriotic Sheriff WATSON, of Aberdeen, that the present system of ragged schools is indebted for its career of benevolence. His position as Sheriff-substitute of a large county—an office somewhat akin to that of a recorder in an English town, with this difference, that he requires to be resident—his position as Sheriff-substitute gave him ample opportunity of observing the amount of juvenile mendicancy and crime prevailing in Aberdeenshire. He framed a scheme for clearing the streets of beggars, and prisons of juvenile delinquents, by means of an Industrial Feeding School, which was opened in 1841. There were then in Aberdeen 280 children, under fourteen years of age, who subsisted ostensibly by begging, but chiefly by petty thefts, and of these, 77 had, during the previous twelve months, been committed to prison. He commenced with the limited number of sixty, who received food, and instruction in reading and handicraft during the day, and who resided in their own homes at night. In Edinburgh, that large-hearted philanthropist, as well as ardent patriot and most eloquent divine, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, became the pleader of the ragged. In the year 1847, he issued his first ‘Plea,’ which touched the tenderest feelings of the citizens of the Modern Athens, as well as of many others elsewhere by the pathetic description of juvenile misery which it afforded. He showed that there were in Edinburgh, at least a thousand children ragged, destitute, and criminal, for whom no man cared; and he solicited aid to establish ragged schools to provide for their wants, and to prevent

prevent them from becoming adult criminals, to prey upon society in future years. His appeal met with a generous response, and the provision for the children of the dangerous classes in Edinburgh is almost equal to Aberdeen—two cities which surpass all others in extent of remedial measures and success in this labour of love. Many more benevolent individuals in various parts of the world were raised up to take this movement by the hand, among whom may be mentioned, with distinguished praise, Miss Carpenter of Bristol, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Rushton of Liverpool, the Rev. Sydney Turner, Dr. Wichern of Hamburg, M. de Metz at Mettray; M. Ducpetiaux of Brussels, and Mr. Pease of New York. Schools now arose in every city and town, until they have spread over this land like a network, and afford an asylum for many a neglected child. At length they impressed the Government, and special Acts of Parliament were passed for England and Scotland to place reformatories instead of prisons for the criminal youth. The Committee of the Privy Council also for some time gave liberally to the support of voluntary ragged schools, though we regret to state that this grant has been greatly curtailed, without, as we think, sufficient cause. An attempt was made, in the late session of Parliament, to call attention to this anomaly, and to secure more liberal aid to a movement so calculated to promote public good, and save the exchequer of a great annual outlay.*

Very many towns yet need to have the system of ragged schools more thoroughly wrought, in order to prevent juvenile crime and vagrancy. It may therefore be well to glance at the results already obtained, especially in those cities where the plan has been fully carried out. It may stimulate others to bear their part in public benevolence and social reform, if we can point to decided success in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, in London and Bristol, in Hamburg and New York.

And first of all, let us take Aberdeen, where the industrial feeding schools had their origin, and of which we have a full account in the valuable work of Mr. Thomson of Banchory. The school was opened in 1841 with sixty scholars. The work done for the first six months averaged a pound a week. The expenditure was 149*l.* 15*s.* 4*½d.*, or 4*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* for each boy; but deducting the earnings, the average expense for twelve months was 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This was a greater cost than in subsequent years. The following table will illustrate this:

* This question was discussed in a very earnest manner at Liverpool, two years ago, by the indefatigable Miss Carpenter of Bristol. We are glad to observe that, at the meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Glasgow, being held as we go to press, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie has a paper on this very important subject. Mr. Thomson of Banchory, Sheriff Watson, and others are producing, at the same time, statistics on the effects of ragged schools. We anticipate much good from these accurate details.

INDUSTRIAL FEETING SCHOOLS IN ABERDEEN.

Year.	Average Attendance.	Average Total Cost.	Food.	Earnings of Each.	Net Cost.	Got Employment.
1841-42	36	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	..
		8 6 8	4 11 0	0 14 6	7 12 2	
1842-43	52	6 8 0	4 10 4	1 2 8	5 5 4	..
1843-44	45	5 12 0	4 1 0	1 4 0	4 11 0	..
1844-45	52	6 0 0	4 0 0	1 10 0	4 10 0	17
1845-46	49	6 0 0	3 8 6	1 10 1	4 9 11	22
1846-47	66	5 17 10	3 14 0	1 16 4	4 1 6	14
1847-48	66	5 18 9	4 1 9	1 14 9	4 4 0	28
1848-49	64	5 10 7	3 15 7	1 7 6	4 3 1	18
1849-50	61	5 7 2	3 10 6	1 17 4	3 9 10	14
1850-51	64	4 18 5	3 1 3	1 14 4	3 4 1	7
1851-52	72	4 5 10	3 0 0	1 5 10	3 0 0	12
1852-53	66	3 11 5½	3 0 6	1 0 6	2 10 11½	8
1853-54	61	4 3 8½	3 0 6	1 1 1	3 1 7½	11
1854-55	53	4 7 9½	3 0 0	1 0 9	3 7 0½	14
1855-56	65	3 17 3½	3 4 8	0 15 8	3 1 7½	17

Besides this school there was one for girls, established in 1843, since divided into two, of which one bears the honoured name of Sheriff Watson. The annual cost for each girl is 1*l.* less than that of a boy. It was manifest, notwithstanding these efforts, that the evil was not yet fully reached. Hence, under authority of the Local Police Act, a *Juvenile School* was opened, to which were conveyed all children found begging. No fewer than seventy-five were apprehended in the course of one morning by the police. The average attendance from 1845 to 1856 has been 88, the average total cost per head 4*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* The average earnings have been 4*s.* 9*d.*, making the net cost 4*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* The success of these led to a fourth institution, the *Child's Asylum*, for the very young criminals.

The effects of these schools upon the commitments became very soon apparent. In 1841, 61 juveniles were committed to prison in the city of Aberdeen; in 1851 there were only 8. They rose to 43 in 1856, owing to some deficiencies and other causes. Instead of the 280 children begging and stealing, a mendicant child is scarcely seen in the streets of Aberdeen. For the sum of 4*l.* a year, during a course of five years, a child is prepared to take a respectable place in society. 20*l.* are all that is needed for preventing a youth becoming a criminal, while it takes 300*l.* to punish and banish him! This fact is an overwhelming argument for the system of ragged schools, and for the full use of the power—which is permissive, not imperative—conferred by the Acts of Parliament on magistrates to send all delinquent children to reformatories. In the words of the first report of the Aberdeen Child's Asylum Committee in 1851:—

‘Society has surely the right to guard itself against the evil practices of these neglected

neglected children; and having the right, it ought also to have the power; but if such power exists, it seems very difficult to tell in whose hands it is vested. The child convicted of theft is whipped or imprisoned; but if he stole to appease the cravings of hunger, which his worthless parent failed to satisfy, it is clear that chastisement has not fallen upon the proper party, and that the really guilty has profited by the vices prompted by his culpable neglect, while the whole cost has been defrayed by the public.

'It was said by the late Mr. Rushton, stipendiary magistrate of Liverpool, that he had ascertained that ten such children under fourteen years of age, had cost, in apprehension and imprisonment, upwards of 600*l.*, and with so little effect, that all of them were then in prison, and one, only about ten years of age, lay under sentence of transportation for seven years.

'The remedy for these enormous evils appears simple and obvious. Let the committee or the magistrates be empowered to send all such mendicant children to the schools of industry, at the expense of the parent or the parish, and let the worthless parent be punished if he neglects the sacred duty of maintaining his child, which at present he is allowed to do with impunity.'

Aberdeen having set the good example, other cities and towns followed. Dundee began a ragged school in 1846, Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1847. In the Scottish capital the work has been done with some degree of thoroughness. Dr. Guthrie's influence, example, and appeals induced many to take a share in the reform of youth, and several schools, besides the original one with which the reverend gentleman's name is associated, have been vigorously supported. Dr. Guthrie has recently informed the public of the results of the efforts made under his own eye. Availing himself of the opportunity of republishing his first and second pleas, he has added a third, as eloquent, pathetic, and impressive as the others, in which he records the harvest of the former seed-time. We are thus presented with a complete argument for the system of benevolent operations expressed by ragged schools.

There were, as we have already noticed, at least one thousand destitute or delinquent juveniles in the city of Edinburgh in 1847. In 1848, the first year of the ragged schools, there were 552 committed to prison between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. The numbers attending ragged schools were 378, of whom 210 were at Dr. Guthrie's. An analysis of the condition of those received at the original school gives the following facts:—

Fatherless, with drunken mothers	63
Motherless, with drunken fathers	57
Both parents utterly worthless	77
Known as children of thieves	69
Believed to be so	130
Who have been beggars	232
Who have been in gaol	18
Who have been in the police-office	57
Who were homeless	27

Of these nearly 200 were under eight years of age. The expense of each was 4*l.* a year. In the school they were clothed and fed, and instructed in the ordinary branches of education, and in some trade. What, then, have been the effects of this economical effort to improve the condition of the children of the 'dangerous classes' in

in Edinburgh? *Juvenile mendicancy* has been almost put down in the city. Various efforts had in vain been tried to effect this. ‘Now,’ says Dr. Guthrie, ‘the juvenile beggars are all gone: the race is extinct. What has become of them? They are not mouldering in the grave, the last refuge of wretchedness; nor are they pining in prison cells, turning the weary cranks, and cursing those who have dealt them out nothing but neglect and punishment. They are off the streets and in our schools. Once no care was taken of them, and no provision made for them; therefore a humane public, supplying them with money, fostered a system much more ruinous to those that got than costly to those that gave. Their vocation is gone. If any now solicit charity, the answer is not money, or a rough repulse, or a curse, but—“Go to the ragged school.” . . . In our school, where they are all busy as bees, sharp as needles, bright as the morning, happy as the day is long, I never hear them sweetly singing their little hymns but I seem to listen to the voice of angels and the song of Bethlehem, “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.”’

The following table, furnished by the governor of the gaol, will afford an answer in relation to *juvenile crime* :—

In 1848 the juvenile prisoners between 14 and 16 years of age were	532
1849	440
1850	361
1851	227
1858	138
1859	130

This is a very marked difference. The effects on *society* are not less striking :—

‘Since our doors were opened in 1847,’ says Dr. Guthrie, ‘besides many who received a partial education, and not a few whose parents, rising into better circumstances, removed them to higher schools, not less than **FIVE HUNDRED** children have left our walls to play their part in life. They are playing it well. Considering the great disadvantages of their outset in life, we have to state as a marvellous, as well as most gratifying result, that as large a proportion have proved themselves honest, industrious, useful members of society as any other class can show. Yon gallant boat that plies between the wreck and the shore, and on which, as she rises to the swell of the sea, all eyes are intently fixed, is but an image of our schools. If our work has not the splendour that surrounds brave deeds, it boasts a better and more enduring glory. It has saved the perishing from a wreck worse than the stranded ship’s—from a fate far worse than the bubbling groan and brief struggle of men whelmed in the deep. It is pre-eminently a Saviour-like work. We go to seek the lost. And five hundred children saved shows how Heaven has smiled on our efforts, and what a promising field ragged schools open up for Christian benevolence. Nowhere else can labour and money count with such certainty on meeting with an ample reward.’

Another very striking fact is supplied by our eloquent author. It is the *economy* of ragged schools :—

‘It seems like lowering a noble cause to introduce the consideration of money to plead for it, on the score of economy. It is a great stoop to come down from the

the lofty heights of religion, pity, humanity, justice, and mercy, to pounds, shillings, and pence. Yet I can demonstrate that ours, the kindest and holiest, is also the cheapest policy. It has been calculated, as I have already stated, that every child, left to grow up into a criminal, costs the country, on an average, not less than 300*l.* Let us suppose that but one-half of the five hundred, whom this single school has saved, had run a career of crime; they would have involved the state in an outlay of 75,000*l.* Now, during the twelve years of its existence, our school has cost some 24,000*l.*; the amount, therefore, saved to the country is just the difference between that sum and 75,000*l.*—that is, 51,000*l.* But make a much more probable supposition, that at least two-thirds of these children would, but for our school, have developed into full-blown criminals, then, besides rescuing them from a life of crime and misery, we have saved the state in actual money, a sum, in round figures, equal to the difference between 24,000*l.* and 96,000*l.*’

It must have given all the joy he describes to this devoted philanthropist, and his generous constituents and fellow-labourers, to meet no fewer than 150 old scholars who accepted an invitation to a tea-party in Edinburgh. They were all genteelly dressed, all self-supporting, many married, and all well doing. ‘It was a sight worth living for: it was our harvest home.’ It was indeed; and the man who was mainly instrumental in gaining that glorious issue is worthy of the highest laurels which a grateful country can bestow. But these are not the deeds for which royalty reserves her stars. Their record is on high, and their recognition will be by a more exalted Monarch, who, as He bestows his meed of praise, will say, ‘Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto ME.’

In England ragged schools have been making rapid progress; but they have not so fully met the necessity in any locality as in those two cities concerning which we have been recently furnished with such full returns. London has institutions for ‘the children of the perishing and dangerous classes’ of various kinds—refuges, where upwards of 500 are clothed, fed, and educated; about 100 week-day schools, with 15,000 scholars; 120 week-night schools, with nearly 10,000 scholars; 130 sabbath-schools, with 17,000 scholars; 85 industrial classes, with 3,500 scholars, making a total of at least 30,000 actually under instruction.

The results of these efforts for good are most encouraging, and of a nature corresponding with those referred to in the preceding pages. Scattered over the ragged-school magazines, the reports of the Reformatory and Refuge Unions, and of the shoe-black brigades, are details of the deepest interest. The industry, honesty, and piety of the shoe-blacks do them the highest credit, and afford an unanswerable argument to those who still refuse their sympathy or aid to a movement which has wrought so many reforms. The letters received from those who, after passing through the ragged schools, have emigrated to the colonies, give a like encouraging testimony.

The establishment of reformatories by Government was a great step

step in advance for the treatment of delinquent juveniles. There are now twenty such institutions in England, and nearly as many in Scotland, all in accordance with the Acts of Parliament. Much is due to the labours of the philanthropists who assembled in Birmingham in 1851, whose influence aided the passing of the Acts. This has been followed up by the institution, in 1856, of a REFORMATORY AND REFUGE UNION, whose annual reports present most interesting facts, fully corroborative of all that has been said in favour of prevention instead of punishment.

On the Continent similar benevolent efforts have been made during late years on behalf of the ragged and criminal children of large towns. There are two institutions whose fame has become world-wide, chiefly through the rare powers and earnest characters in their respective founders. We refer to Mettray and Hamburg, where M. de Metz and Dr. Wichern have wrought such wonders in philanthropy. We shall confine our attention to the latter in the small space now at our disposal. Dr. Wichern began his work on a very small scale in the old Rauhe Haus (Rough House), near Hamburg. He had two objects in view—training young men and women for the office of social reformers, and actually attempting the desired reform of the criminal youth. He first began with the children: twelve of whom were admitted in the end of December, 1833.

‘They varied in age from five years up to eighteen; their variations in vice were not so great, for they were uniformly bad. Eight of them were illegitimate; four were under the influence of criminal and drunken parents; one lad of twelve was known to the police by ninety-two thefts; one had escaped from prison; one had sinned till he had become imbecile; they were all thoroughly wild; lying and stealing was their second nature. They were poor street wanderers, such as you may see in London on the dreary winter nights, crouching in doorways and under bridges; little heaps of rags with perhaps bright, hungry eyes, that sparkle on you with a kind of savage fear. They used to sleep on piles of stones or on steps; only, said one, the stars awoke me in winter, for they looked down on me so clear and white. There was a shameless, false, little beggar among them, a poor thing deserted by his mother, and who had risen to be the leader of all the street boys in his neighbourhood, and a notorious plague. There was a boy who had been treated like a beast, and naturally lived like a beast; his so-called adopted parents had bought him for 13*l.*; the woman was an idiot, the man a coarse drunkard, and under them he lived till he was eighteen: no wonder he came shy, full of mistrust, naked within and without. A boy of twelve declared positively that he believed no God, much less a Saviour, no resurrection, no judgment. He had once laid violent hands on himself, and, when angry, he threatened that he would run himself through with a knife; frightful fits of passion seized upon him, culminating in one which lasted twelve hours, and during which four men could scarcely hold him. Before he came he used to be chained at such times.’

The very worst boys in Hamburg were in Wichern’s Rauhe Haus; but love won them, patient training reformed them, and Christian instruction led them to the Saviour. Four of the twelve settled respectably in Hamburg, four elsewhere, and two went to sea. The faith and prayer and labour of the master triumphed.

Wichern

Wichern had soon his hands full. He therefore entered upon his arranged plan, dividing his boys or girls into families of twelve in separate houses, with a superintendent, four brothers—unpaid, training for reformatory institutions, and a young candidate of theology in each. There are now twenty houses, surrounded by fifty acres of land, and containing 395 boys, with 114 girls. Moral purpose and Christian influence mingle with all instruction, whether of book or of handicraft. Printing is carried on to a great extent. Agriculture employs some, shoemaking others, baking another party, and various industrial arts the remainder. Many have gone forth from the excellent discipline and order of the *Rauhe Haus* to take respectable places in society. Of the first 200 who left, 145 are doing well, 10 are mediocre, only 22 are bad, while 23 have been lost sight of. Since the commencement, nearly 200 brothers have gone to labour in other establishments, and many theological candidates are now in the parochial ministry, or in the mission-field, highly valued and greatly blessed.

Among all the institutions for the reformation of degraded youth none ranks higher than Dr. Wichern's. It has attracted the attention of persons in high social position all over Europe; it has influenced all similar institutions which have been established on the Continent; it has aided to revive religion as well as to diminish crime and promote order, by means of the Inner Mission so closely linked with it; it has promoted a healthy religious literature, much of which is printed and published at the Rough House; and it has taught a grand lesson of what faith and prayer and energy can do.

The ragged-school system has practically developed some great principles of social amelioration. It has shown that prevention is better than cure; that the reformation of the young is more certain than of the old; that there is every advantage to society by educating, at the public expense, those who are neglected by their parents; and that the best instruction is when secular knowledge and the useful arts are blended with Christian teaching and daily worship of God. Under this loving and godly influence the worst youths have been reformed, and have been sent out to the world with an ability to read and write, a fitness to work for their bread, and a love to God and man glowing in their renewed breasts. By greater liberality from a Christian public, and more resolute endeavours to leave no destitute children uncared for; by greater compassion in the magistracy, who will send the young delinquents brought up for crimes to the reformatory instead of the prisons; and by wiser legislation on the part of the State to shut up incentives to and new facilities for drunkenness, ragged schools would speedily transform, by the blessing of Heaven, the wretched and mendicant and delinquent youth of our country into honest

honest, happy, sober, and pious citizens, and hasten the consummation so devoutly to be wished, when begging, drunkenness, and crime shall be almost extirpated.

ART. VI.—1. *Report of Parliamentary Committee on Intemperance.*
1834. J. S. Buckingham, Chairman.

2. *Report of Select Committee on Public-houses.* 1854. Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, Chairman.

3. *Hansard's Debates.* Session of 1860.

FEW investigations are so barren as those pursued by parliamentary committees. Day after day during the session do members of the House of Commons spend hours in examining witnesses upon questions of various national interest, and at last, with a sigh of relief that the labour is concluded, the chairmen of the committees present to the House reports to which nobody listens, and these, with the rest of the inquiries, are consigned to the honourable oblivion of blue books. All this exhausting labour, so loudly complained of to constituents, and conducted at an enormous national expense, is intended to furnish desired information to Parliament upon which discreet and safe legislation may be founded. It practically affords information to nobody but to the parties immediately concerned and interested, and to some adventurous student who has courage enough to search for the ore which may be extracted from the mountain of débris which, like the slag of an iron furnace, grows up during the heats and refinements of a parliamentary session. Such is the apathy of members to any but party claims, or to the immediate necessities of foreign or domestic politics, that a suggestion to refer any question to a committee is always considered as a pleasant mode of placing it on the shelf. Rarely, indeed, has the most deliberate and exhaustive inquiry ordered by the House resulted in practical legislation.

The various committees which from time to time have reported upon drunkenness, or the laws affecting the trade in strong drink, have presented no exception to this rule. Session after session, from the earliest period of parliamentary records, has the House of Commons been called upon to discuss, in some shape or other, the troublesome question of public-houses. Sometimes bungled in general debate, at others sent up stairs to a committee as inconvenient, a general sentiment has been expressed that 'a comprehensive measure' ought to be introduced to relieve the House from this constant nuisance; but no one has ventured to embody the suggestions offered in a bill. The committee which, under Mr. Buckingham's presidency, sat in 1834, reported to the House upon 'the importance of directing the attention of the Government

ment to various ameliorations, and especially to the introduction "early in the ensuing session," of some general and comprehensive law for the progressive diminution and ultimate suppression of all the existing facilities and means of intemperance, as the root and parent of almost every other vice.'

But no legislation followed. Probably the conclusions were too much allied to common sense, and the suggestions too logical, to recommend themselves to a modern House of Commons, one of the peculiar characteristics of which is, to allow no measure to pass without the introduction of sufficient personal crotchetts to mar the symmetry of the construction, and to render difficult the understanding and execution of the act. Nor has the committee which, twenty years later, presented its report through Mr. Villiers, been treated with any greater consideration. The elaborate suggestions offered have not again been referred to; and the present year would, in all probability, have passed away without any disturbance of the unsatisfactory *status quo*, but for the necessity which lay upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to provide channels for, and, if possible, to increase the consumption of the French wines admitted by the new treaty.

But now the ice has been broken. No one—certainly not a licensed victualler—expects that the legislation of the last session will be final. There is an evident disposition on the part of leading statesmen to deal with the whole question of license laws, and it is not likely that many years will pass without a radical and complete change. It is therefore of some importance that temperance reformers should examine and understand the position in which they are likely to be placed, and agree upon the policy they should pursue in the advancement of their principles.

The dissatisfaction of all parties with the beer-house system has grown and developed constantly during the thirty years in which that system has exercised its debasing influence. Alongside of this feeling has also sprung up a distrust of the system of magisterial license, and a desire to break down a monopoly which, in the new era of mercantile competition, appears peculiarly hateful and injurious to ardent free-traders.

Between the adherents of these two opinions, there is a necessary antagonism which must probably render the adoption of either alternative difficult. In connection with the former a powerful organization among magistrates, especially of the West Riding, promoted, in 1857, a measure which, under the hands of Mr. Hardy, was submitted to the House of Commons. The second reading was, however, refused by a majority of 213 to 180, the debate turning exclusively on the points we have indicated. The scope of the suggested measure was to withdraw from the excise the power to grant, simply for purposes of revenue, licenses to sell beer,

beer, and to confer on the magistrates the same discretionary power with reference to these, which is confided to them as to the sale of spirits. The obvious intention was to bring the whole trade under a uniform system—a most important advantage—and that system one of magisterial restriction.

At the time of this division the writer took an opportunity of pointing out that it must be regarded as conclusive of the conditions under which the temperance battle must be fought. It was evident that public feeling had condemned the license system under the magistrates, and that the real contest lay between those who advocated the right of public opinion to dictate even the entire prohibition of the trade, and those who were inclined to leave it to be governed solely by the ordinary operation of supply and demand. Recent events have abundantly confirmed our opinion. Mr. Gladstone's Wine Licensing Bill was avowedly intended as a commencement of anti-magisterial legislation, and an amendment, moved by Mr. James, in favour of the retention of magisterial power, was negatived by 154 to 117.

Mr. Villiers's committee, to which we have already referred, was appointed on the motion of Mr. Brown, the representative of South Lancashire, and a magistrate holding the opinions in favour of free trade prevalent upon the Liverpool bench. There is no doubt that the opinions of Mr. Villiers and other members of that committee, underwent very considerable modification during the course of the sittings, but it is undoubtedly in the direction of the conclusions of that committee, that the opinion of the House of Commons is rapidly drifting. These suggestions are summed up in the report of that committee as follows :—

‘Resolved—

‘That no intoxicating drink shall be sold without a license.
 ‘That there should be one uniform license for the sale of intoxicating drinks.
 ‘That such licenses shall be issued by the magistrates at sessions holden for that purpose.

‘That it shall be open to all persons of good character to obtain such license on compliance with certain conditions, and the payment of a certain annual sum.

‘That every person, previous to obtaining a license, should himself give bond, and find two sureties to be bound with him, for the due observance of the law and conditions upon which the license shall be granted.

‘That the lowest amount to be paid for a license should, in rural parishes and small towns, be 6*l.*; in towns or parishes exceeding 5000, and not exceeding 10,000 inhabitants, it should be 8*l.*; and that above 10,000 the price should be increased 2*l.* for every 5000 inhabitants; but that in no case should the price exceed 30*l.*

‘That in case of any conviction for breach of the law or condition of the license, the sureties should be at liberty to give notice of the withdrawal of their names as sureties, at the next licensing sessions after the date of such notice.

‘That, in large towns and populous places, there should be appointed inspectors of public-houses, and all places of public refreshment and entertainment, as in the case of common lodging-houses, and that such inspectors should constantly visit and report upon the condition and conduct of all such houses and places.

‘That in all cases of drunkenness, and riotous or disorderly conduct, such inspectors should, if necessary, have power to call in the assistance of the police.

‘That

‘That in all cases of trading during the hours prohibited by law, or selling liquors without license, the persons found actually present should be deemed guilty of the same offence, and should be liable to a penalty not exceeding half of the penalty which may be imposed upon the proprietor.

‘That all coffee-shops, temperance hotels, shell-fish shops, and similar places of public resort, should be required to be licensed for their respective purposes, and should be subject to be visited and reported upon in the same manner as public-houses; and that the amount to be paid for every such license should be 2*l.* per annum.

‘That any person selling intoxicating drinks without being licensed for their sale, should be subject to a penalty, to be recovered before the magistrates, not exceeding double the amount required by law to be paid in that locality for a license to sell intoxicating drinks.

‘That such publicans and beer-shop keepers as are already licensed should not be required to find sureties, nor to pay any higher scale of duties than they are at present required to pay, and should be entitled to the renewal in every respect as at present; but should be visited and reported upon by the inspectors of public-houses, and should be subject to the same police regulations as are proposed with regard to future licenses; and in case of conviction of any offence against the law, should be brought in all respects under the new rules.

‘That, with the exception of the hours of from one to two o’clock P. M., and of from six to nine P. M., all places for the sale of intoxicating drinks should be closed on Sunday, and that on the week days all such houses should be closed from eleven o’clock P. M. until four o’clock A. M.’

We propose now, therefore, as a question of vital interest to temperance reformers, to examine these suggestions, and ascertain, if possible, their probable influence, so as to indicate the course which temperance men may advantageously adopt when they come to be submitted to Parliament.

To a temperance reformer, the license law is not, as such, acceptable. It is valuable only so far as it is restrictive, and it is sustained, and even tolerated, by them for that reason only. It is undoubtedly vicious in principle and partial in administration. No financial blunder can be more disastrous than to derive revenue from the demoralization of the people. It may be and is said that articles of luxury may fairly be taxed in preference to articles of necessity, and that taxation, by increasing the price of spirits, is itself restrictive of consumption. But, on the other hand, stands the fatal and overwhelming disadvantage of allowing to the national exchequer, and therefore to the government, a pecuniary interest in the trade in drink and in its extension, which necessarily ranges on the side of drink consumption, all who are interested in the easy and immediate increase or maintenance of the national finances. No doubt can be left on an impartial mind, after perusal of the evidence taken before Mr. Villiers’s committee, that favouritism has much to do with the granting or withholding of licenses. So far as the metropolis is concerned, it is matter generally notorious, that houses retain their licenses year after year in which obscenities of all sorts are known to be carried on, and which are the recognized resort of thieves and bad characters of all sorts. Even respectability is not insured by the magisterial sanction to the license. In many large places the worst class of

houses are licensed houses, arising, not only from the power they possess to keep open all night while beer-houses must close, but from the variety and efficiency of their means of temptation. Nor is it by any means certain that the magistrates have used the discretion intrusted to them with any very materially restrictive results. It is an important fact, that during the last seven years, public-houses have increased in number from 89,963 to 93,066, or an increase of 3,103, while beer-houses, for which no magisterial sanction is needed, have only augmented from 42,726 to 43,435, or an addition of 709. But, further, the influence of the license law upon public opinion and upon the magistrates themselves is eminently unfavourable. People imagine that a business expressly sanctioned must be highly respectable. The license gives moral weight to the trade in drink, and the magistrates who grant the certificate are rendered, as it were, partners in the whole matter. They become unwilling to impeach their own creation. Nothing can be more absurd than the memorial system adopted on the occasion of applications for license in the hope of influencing the decision of the bench. Not a clergyman or rate-payer who signs a publican's memorial, but must be considered as responsible for the mischief the license may afterwards cause, and thus in all its ramifications—with the government, among the magistrates and the people, the license law is always operating to bring within the involvements of interest or responsibility all classes of the community.

The suggestions of the committee in some respects would obviate these objections. The liquor dealers would find themselves under real instead of an illusory restraint, and the fear of losing the license, or even (as the committee suggests as better than fine) of being compelled to close for a limited period, would exercise an important influence over the mind of a publican. The closing would also affect the interest of the brewer or distiller, so frequently the owner of the house, and compel him to be careful in the selection of his tenants.

If it should turn out—we fear it would not—that the operation of the suggestion of high rates of payment for licenses would be restrictive of the number of the houses above the restriction of the magistrates, the whole scheme would be better than that now existent; but we cannot but look with alarm upon an open trade in drink. There is an undoubted connection shown by experience between drunkenness and the amount of drinking facilities. The object of any legislation should, in our opinion, be to diminish rather than increase those facilities. Apart from this, however, there are many valuable features in the suggestions of the committee.

The advantage of uniformity of law with reference to all classes
of

of houses would be gained here equally with Mr. Hardy's plan. But the safeguards indicated are far more complete than those at present enjoyed. The provision of sureties, the appointment of inspectors charged with the special duty of supervision of public-houses, the restriction of sale on Sunday, and the closing at night, are all most important advances upon our existing position. With these, and the additional advantage of simplification which uniformity of license would place in the hands of opponents of public-houses—the odium now attaching to beer-houses being then equally associated with the whole,—the efforts of temperance men in influencing the legislation would be much more powerfully felt. But notwithstanding all this, our inability to decide the question, whether high license would insure fewer houses, and our strong conviction that no other benefit could compensate for the terrible results of increased and open trade, we cannot express approval of the report of 1854.

But a practical question rises before the temperance reformer as to his future political tactics. Neither the present system nor that suggested by Mr. Villiers can be entirely satisfactory to him. What can he do, that, whatever modification may be introduced in either, his views may have a fair legislative representation?

In this Review we have from the first advocated the right of the people, if they please, to exclude altogether the sale of drink, and we have laid before our readers suggestions which have been offered as to the mode by which this right may be enforced. The votes of the inhabitants of any district might easily be taken as to that district, as is done in other permissive acts, and a power of veto would thus be obtained far more valuable than that exercised by magistrates.

We are endeavouring to explain the position in which, as practical politicians, we may hereafter stand. The question is not what we desire, not what we ought to have, but what, under the exigencies of the situation into which we may be forced, can be done to mould the circumstances in favour of our views and not against them? We believe the true tactics of temperance reformers to be, to resolve, that in ANY measure adopted by Parliament, this permissive power shall be introduced, and we regard it as the special work of the political temperance agitation to induce statesmen of Mr. Villiers's school to adopt this alternative. The license system is not upheld, as we have said, by us, nor is Mr. Villiers's scheme objectionable to us, provided only the prohibitive power be given to the people. Prohibition has always been contended for by us as the expression of public opinion; we ask for it in no other sense, and we shall be content if we obtain the machinery, by means of which public opinion may consolidate itself into the shape of law. If our anticipations be well founded, and a

large majority of Parliament regard with favour the suggestions of 1854, it must clearly be the wisest course, not to resist the victorious opinion by supporting the present system of magisterial veto—a system very objectionable—but to use every effort to engraft upon the new system such a complete check, and such a power of absolute prohibition if desired by public opinion, as may render it almost if not entirely satisfactory.

It is difficult to foresee any objections to so reasonable a proposal. It may be contended that the objection of revenue interests in the trade would be as valid in reference to the new and amended scheme as to the present. Licenses would still in proportion to number increase the exchequer balance, and it would be unlikely that government would consent to give the people a right to disturb their financial arrangements, when sanctioned by the House of Commons. But this objection may be obviated. In the 'Economist' newspaper of the 25th August last, an interesting paragraph describes a curious practice existing in France in reference to taxes arising out of wines and spirits. Whole districts and communes, it appears, are permitted to compound with the government for the amount of revenue estimated to be due from them in respect of these taxes, and then to raise the money among themselves in such manner as they may see fit. Such a practice has no parallel among ourselves, but that is no reason why it should not have, while it is easy to believe that districts might find it very profitable to raise the means of government by some other plan than the wasteful one of creating pauperism and crime and other charges upon the state for the purpose.

Irrespective of any exercise of the power given to the people, the existence of such a power would be itself a great safeguard against misconduct. The increased value of the license, it is anticipated, would operate upon both tenant and owner, to prevent such misconduct as might result in its suspension or forfeiture. How much more would it be a restraint to know, that the nuisance of an ill-conducted house might so rouse the indignation of a district as to destroy the value of the public-house property in that district altogether. Owners would themselves become inspectors of their houses, and even where prohibition might not be adopted within the district, we should have as little occasion as possible given for the growth of a hostile public opinion, when that opinion would have the power to embody itself into a law exiling the traffic altogether.

We might follow out the argument at length but we forbear. We have merely thrown out a few brief hints which may be further developed in the future. In the view of the increased importance assumed by temperance agitation during the past few months, its substantial recognition in quarters hitherto indifferent,

different, the complete demonstration of the emptiness of the boast of publican political power, everything looks hopeful. It must not be, however, that the long-threatened 'comprehensive measure' upon the license system can find the temperance reformers unprepared. The grievances of the present system which require to be remedied are of the most serious kind, and Parliament and statesmen incur a grave responsibility in delaying to deal with them. Still graver is the responsibility of those who would neglect so to inform and educate public sentiment, not merely on the personal relations of the temperance movement, but on the national requirements of the citizen and law-maker in reference to the great social evil of the liquor traffic, that when the opportunity offers, an adequate and successful struggle may be made for the right. We write for those who would persevere to the end, not for those who, having put their hand to the plough, turn back.

ART. VII.—THE EARLY SOCIAL STATE OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

In this day of reformatories, when such careful provision is made for the bodily comfort, mental growth, and moral culture of our criminals, as to provoke the pungent satire of our social censors, it is well to look at the picture of their treatment, exhibited by the past.

Eighty years ago a person, styled Duncan Campbell, Esq., stood before a Committee of the British House of Commons. He was announced as the 'Contractor for Convicts.' 'Will you please to give us the result of your experience?' said the chairman.

The gentleman then proceeded to give the following particulars: He had for twenty years taken prisoners off the hands of the paternal government, and paid for these British chattels at the rate of five pounds a head; and he assured the gentlemen of the Committee that it had been by no means so profitable a trade as some had supposed. One seventh of his bargains had died upon his hands, and for the rest he had done his best in disposing of them to the English settlers of the American colonies. For ordinary men he got no more than ten pounds; and for women, unless young and attractive, but eight or nine. Artisans realized a higher figure; fetching in the market, especially if well skilled and docile, twenty and even twenty-five pounds each. To balance this profit, he was obliged to

give the old, halt, and lame in for nothing; and, too often, to his sorrow, he had to pay premiums to get rid of them, should they, unfortunately, survive the perils and hardships of the voyage.

Not one of the honourable members made a remark upon the barbarity and unchristian character of this sale of their fellow-countrymen. It was a matter of course. Even he who bought them was as reputable, in the eyes of society then, as those who pay for other licences now.

But a difficulty had arisen with the Home Government. These colonists, who had purchased the slave criminals, were in open rebellion against the producing market, and the goods could no longer be forwarded to them. What was to be done? In spite of the terrors of the Plantations, crime had gone on; and the gaols were crowded, in spite of pestilence from their disgusting condition.

Sir Joseph Banks now propounded a scheme. He had been on a voyage, a few years before, with Captain Cook. In 1770 they had discovered a country which had been called New South Wales. It would, in his opinion, be an excellent place to which these disturbers of the peace could be sent. It was quite at the antipodes, and so the English would not be troubled with them again. It was altogether away

away from any settlement of Europeans, and so the chance of escape was hopeless. On the other hand, the country was beautiful, and the climate agreeable. At any rate, two or three hundred might be sent as an experiment.

Objections were raised. Those who did not mind selling them in America, were shocked at expatriating them to so wild a region of savages at the other side of the globe.

Yet what else could be done with the unhappy wretches, thus festering in loathsome prisons, which resounded with shouts of brutal vice, and the fruitless wailings of less-hardened ones? Botany Bay was the decision. Even in that day the wheels of authority moved with proverbial solemnity, so that 1787 came before the fleet could sail.

We pass over the dreary eight months' voyage, and bring the party to anchor January 18th, 1788. The strange land was before them, with its bright, warm sky, its forests of eucalypti, its groves of palms, its shrubs of harsh-leaved plants laden with flowering beauties. But Botany Bay was only suited for the hermit lover of the wilds of nature; and the harbour of Port Jackson was selected for the settlement.

Let us look at the new comers. There were 558 male prisoners and 228 female. To guard these were 212 marines. They disembarked from the transports, and constructed rude cabins of wattle and dab. Formal possession was taken of the land. Governor Phillip made an oration upon the occasion, and earnestly counselled the convicts to behave themselves well in their new home. Grateful for their preservation on the long voyage, and full of buoyant hopes for the future, the officials terminated the proceedings of the inauguration of the colony by a hearty dedication of themselves and projects to the god of the heathen—Bacchus. So unhallowed an initiation was quite appreciated by the criminal transports; and the superstructure of vice and intemperance was worthy of such a foundation of immorality. Judge Burton, of Sydney, afterwards exclaimed, 'How different might have been the effect upon the minds of many of the poor convicts, if the day of their first landing in a new world had been solemnly invoked, as the

beginning of a new life under God, by an act of confession and prayer!'

Before taking up the social exponents of that early colonial age, we will glance at some points of general history, which influenced the moral phases of the community.

For the first few years great suffering was experienced from the want of food. Although seeds had been taken out, yet the general spirit of reckless improvidence, tardy industry, and miserable misgovernment, prevented that prompt attention to agriculture which would have saved much subsequent trouble. The loss of the 'Guardian' storeship would not have been felt so long and bitterly had proper discipline been maintained, and prudent counsels been regarded. As it was, a reduction of even one-half the usual allowance caused a dreadful mortality. Men were seen attempting labour in the field, feeble from exhaustion, and almost as free from dress as the natives about them.

The introduction of many ignorant and long-neglected fellow-subjects, after the Irish Rebellion of 1798, did not improve the political aspect of the new colony. Plots were repeatedly being brought to light. Insubordination increased, and morals were even brought to a lower ebb. Some of the Irishmen got it into their heads that a settlement of whites existed three or four hundred miles to the south-west of Sydney, and numbers started off for it. Although many were brought back, and got lashes for their absence, the discovery of skeletons in the bush for years after, told the fate of the rest. A rush once took place among the same class of people for China, which was thought not far away. A rebellion among the Irish convicts arose from a report that the French were about to land. This tale sprang from the simple circumstance of an old Scotch wife retailing to her beer-drinking customers her dream about the French coming to the camp.

At an early period grants of land, of thirty and fifty acres, were made to freed prisoners, who became dignified with the name of settlers, and who were located at Rose Hill, Parramatta, some twenty miles from Sydney, and on the fertile banks of the Hawkesbury, at a greater distance from the port. Liberal aid was rendered by Government, in grants of seed and tools,

tools, the use of bullocks for ploughing, stores till the crops appeared, and purchase at a remunerative rate afterwards. But it was found that this weak dependence upon the authorities, together with the frightful appetite for drink, produced a feebleness of effort, and a deficiency of energy, which told as mischievously upon the individuals, as upon the general condition of the colony.

A few free settlers arrived about a dozen years after the settlement of Sydney; but it was a long time before any considerable number visited so distant a station. A dozen Scotch families came in Governor Hunter's reign, and were located at Portland, becoming the nucleus of a thriving people. Generally, however, the free emigrants sank to the level of society about them, and were besotted and idle. As late as 1833, while the bond, above twelve years, were 17,588, the free, including the emancipists by servitude, were only 21,845.

As an illustration of the general improvident character of these landed proprietors, the following may be given. When Governor Phillip left his charge in 1792, he kindly gave each married settler, from the public stock, a ewe for breeding, and to others such goats as could be spared. Instead of preserving these valuable gifts, procured with such trouble and expense from Britain, most of the parties either killed them at once for a rich repast, or sold them to the officers.

Squatting soon showed itself the great business of the prudent. At one time no regulations existed, and then a half-a-crown rent was charged for every hundred acres. With the system of large free grants of land came the great era of progress. A man received an amount proportionate to his cash in hand, or stock in possession. It was said that among the claimants the clerical squatters were foremost; but their demand, according to their flocks, was so formidable that an especial order had to be issued by Earl Bathurst, that no clergyman should be entitled to more than 1250 acres grant. It is obvious that this class of men would have greater chance of success, less from their habits of business than from their temperance and intelligence.

As may readily be supposed, the government was essentially despotic.

An officer was appointed as the prosecutor for the crown, called the Advocate-General, who, not being a lawyer, but usually a military person, had to depend upon the more technical knowledge and legal talent, in difficult cases, of some convict, who had perchance been a clerk in some solicitor's office in England. Occasionally an advocate, upon being remonstrated with upon some decision being more than usually absurd and tyrannical, would indulge in violent abuse of the individual complainant, and expressions of contempt for the genius of law itself. As the appointment was from the crown, the governor himself was unable to remedy this incapacity or injustice by a removal of the judge. When it is added that too frequently such adjudications were given under the influence of intemperance, and from men notorious for their immorality, the condition of justice in those good old times may be fully appreciated.

The jury was composed of officers of the military force, whose sympathies were not to be supposed to be on virtue's side, if we regard the lives they led. When, in the extension of freedom, the jury list included others of the emancipist class, the reader may naturally suppose that their findings would be of a lenient sort, according to the saying, that 'fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.' We are not left to conjecture on this head. In Britain, the acquittals average seventeen per cent. of the accused; in New South Wales, of the period now spoken of, they amounted to fifty per cent. A thief in Sydney had, therefore, three times the chance of escape that he would have in London.

The press suffered in that age of irresponsible government. Space forbids enlarging upon this very interesting subject, else we might speak of the gagging system, which so long prevailed. The censorship was stricter than that of France or Austria, and the punishment of the offending printer severe and summary. Occasionally the mode of exhibiting the displeasure of the authorities was mean and disreputable. Thus, Mr. Hall, of the 'Sydney Monitor,' had mildly and respectfully criticised some act of Governor Darling. Soon after, he applied, on the usual terms, for a lease of public land,

land, on which to depasture some cattle. The general refused the application on the avowed ground of the editor's opposition to Government. Further, to trouble the scribe, he took from his service a printer, who happened to be a convict, and, therefore, under the authority of office. Mr. McArthur in council, recommended Governor Darling a mode of quieting the interference of the press. He would have a stamp act enforcing the payment of one shilling for each printed copy issued. General Darling, however, thought this too harsh a measure to be adopted. The first paper brought out in New South Wales, was the 'Sydney Gazette and Advertiser,' which appeared March 6th, 1803, by order of Governor King. Upon an oval device, ornamented with rude drawings of implements of husbandry, were the words, 'Thus we hope to conquer.'

When the press appeared as the exponent of the prisoner class, it was sometimes prostituted for the maintenance of, or connivance at, improper practices, and a low tone of moral feeling. It was to remedy this evil that Dr. Lang, the chivalrous advocate of liberty, but the stern denouncer of social wrongs, undertook a crusade against a party, whose principles he regarded as a curse to the colony, and a shame to literature. And if, in the vehemence of attack, he occasionally forgot the dignity of a gentleman, and the charity of a Christian, we must remember the provocations which existed, the character of his assailants, and the condition of society, rightly to appreciate the position he assumed.

Convictism lost some of its more repulsive aspects, as far as public opinion was concerned, when wealth was accumulated by those who had borne the badge of servitude. The great landowners and flockmasters were emancipists, while many merchant princes and city magnates were of the same class. Governor Macquarie, whose dynasty was between 1810 and 1821, thought to encourage the emancipists by bestowing upon them favours not sanctioned before. He admitted some to his table, and raised a few to the magistracy. Those arrived free were indignant at this extension of patronage; but they were laughed at by the new aristocracy, and called, scoffingly, 'The Pure Me-

rinoes.' One clerical magistrate, the Rev. Mr. Marsden, could not meet the newly elected justices, and resigned his office. General Macquarie's successor, Governor Brisbane, on the other hand, held the reins of government too tightly, and with much nobleness of conduct, exhibiting too often that severity of rule which caused part of his regime to be denominated 'The Reign of Terror.'

By some strange official neglect there were prisoners who brought over to New Holland the very gold and jewels, for the abstraction of which they had been transported. The man who robbed the Bank of Stirling, for instance, is said to have thus carried out property to the amount of a thousand pounds; the judicious employment of which removed him from the necessity of hard labour and degrading treatment, and enabled him to invest to advantage.

While discipline was so lax that every encouragement seemed given to the indulgence of disorder, the severity of the code was equally apparent, however irregular its exercise. Capital punishment was not uncommon for petty thefts. But flogging was the favourite mode of punishment. Did a man forget to touch his hat when passing an official, he received twenty-five lashes. Had he been said to have returned an improper answer to his master, or neglected obedience to his order, lashes became the order of penalty. In November, 1800, a case of absconding came before the Sydney bench. An extract from the sentence is given:—That they 'do sentence Matthews, as a principal, to receive 1000 lashes; Moore, Galvin, and Saunders, 500 lashes; Francis Allen to hard labour, with an iron collar, at Newcastle; W. Blake, free from servitude, 200 lashes and three years' hard labour, &c. At another time a bench, of which the chaplain was a member, ordered a man to be severely flogged every morning till he should confess where goods were secreted, supposed to have been stolen by him. After receiving as much as could be borne, he was, in the event of continued contumacy, to be sent to Port Macquarie, where prisoners were very roughly treated. A man, who had wounded a woman with whom he cohabited, was sentenced to 700 lashes, one-half to be given at a time. A woman, convicted of aiding a thief, had

had her head shaved, and was clothed with a canvas frock, on which the letters R. S. G. were painted—Receiver of Stolen Goods.

The distinctions of society were thus marked. The English born were Sterling; and the Colonial youth were Currency or Cornstalks. Those who had legal reasons for being forwarded to the colony were Legitimates; while those not so favoured by the law of the mother-country were styled Illegitimates. The new comers, among the convicts themselves, were Canaries, from the yellow dress they were condemned to wear.

The moral character of the primitive population of New South Wales can be easily imagined to occupy no dignified position. And how could it be otherwise? The historian of England and Scotland would give us no favourable view of society at the period of the early transportation; while the annals of suffering, endured by the pioneers of Methodism, would exhibit our lower orders as ignorant, brutal, and depraved. The police arrangements then had not the present Scotland Yard perfection. The Dick Turpin heroism of the road is now exchanged for the slinking meanness of the thief, from the constant apprehension of a detective's touch. Men were accustomed, at that time, to carry their bravado to the scaffold, and smile from Tyburn upon the cheering sympathisers with their dashing deeds. With so demoralized and brutal a commonality, we can be surprised at no depth of vicious artifice, and bestial criminality among the selected convicts from such a class. Place such a congregation of evil-doers together, as at Sydney; supply them with the great provocative to vice—strong drink—and withhold opportunities of moral elevation and religious restraint; and then we have a community which, for the open exhibition of wickedness, may be considered one of the worst the world has seen. And yet, strange to say, in that very colony, so originated and sustained, there is now a development of social progress, moral appliances, and religious fervour, which may truly class it with some of the most virtuous of nations.

That our estimate of the depravity of that period may not be supposed without ground, we give certain testimonies of others. Barrington wrote sixty years

ago, 'They were too callous for anything human to reform.' Governor Bligh told the committee of the House of Commons that, 'from the habits of the people in that colony, prostitution was extremely common,' and, again, 'In the beginning there were two-thirds of illegitimate children.' Dr. Cunningham, referring to the frequency of perjury, asserts, 'A dollar and a pint of rum were currently stated to be the prices fixed at the outset for witnesses of this description, till competition broke up the monopoly, and admitted of purchasers at a more equitable rate.' An early minister adds, 'All those ties of moral order and feelings of decency, which bind society together, are not only relaxed but almost extinct.' Bishop Broughton speaks of 'highly respectable persons, residing near a church, not only neglected to require their convict servants to attend the church, but suffered them to spend the Lord's day amidst scenes of drunkenness and debauchery. Nor was that all. It has been further proved that that day by some masters was actually made a day of labour, and some other day allowed as an equivalent.'

The first Wesleyan minister in New South Wales thus, in 1815, describes the state of society: 'Many in respectable situations riot in all the crimes of which their depraved natures are capable; several live in adultery either with other men's wives, or with women to whom they were never married; and this example is practised by persons in various ranks of society. I suppose one half at least of the colony is thus circumstanced. I was the other day taking a list of the children of a public school, and, inquiring about their parents. I learned from the mouths of the children that full one half of their parents cohabit in this way. The children are brought acquainted with it while young, and grow up in it.'

Drunkenness was the great vice of the day, and the active agent in the crimes and miseries of the colony. The narrative of such wrongs may well surprise the English reader; but the more recent immigrants of Australia, who behold so improved a state of things, would be almost equally surprised at the detail. Excepting at the rushes of the diggings, and to those in their very worst circumstances, there is no parallel existing.

As has been stated, the foundation of

of New South Wales was laid in drink. The introduction of liquor by the sailors from the ships, who sold the same to the convicts for food and clothing, was the beginning of evil. Some died from exhaustion through thus parting with their rations. Thefts were common. Even a sheep was stolen that was reserved for the governor to celebrate the Prince of Wales's birthday. The people became so lazy through this vicious habit, that only punishment could make them perform their light tasks. The farm of a free settler was neglected. Religion was wholly forgotten. Corruption seemed universal.

Among the fruits of disorder appear the losses of property. When, in 1798, the settlers complained of their ruinous condition, the debts which burdened them, and the necessity of help from the king's store, Governor Hunter told them that all their trouble was occasioned by intemperance. When again, in 1799, the Norfolk islanders sent a similar memorial, the following official answer was returned: 'From the nature of the complaint, the governor is led to suspect that the same rage for traffic, and an intemperate indulgence in those destructive gratifications which have so effectually ruined many of the most forward and promising settlers of New South Wales, have reached Norfolk Island. He urges them not to be led away from their real interests by speculative ideas, or a desire of indulging in dangerous gratifications, squandering the whole produce of their hard labour in trifles, or in scenes of dissipation, which must eventually end in their complete ruin.'

The early tales of sorrow from this source of mischief are like those ever and everywhere to be found from the same cause. It would be idle to tell of those whose death, from violence or accident (so called), was occasioned by drink. A couple of toppers challenged each other. They retired from Sydney to a wood for uninterrupted contest. They were armed with rum bottles. One drank himself to death on the spot, and the other was nearly gone when discovered. A married pair had quarrelled and fought in their intoxicated state. The wife, then stepping into a boat, overbalanced herself and was drowned, her husband being unable to render assistance. The bereaved buried the body a few yards from his

door. The historian Barrington, adds, 'To complete the measure of his iniquity, but a few days after, he was sitting at his door, with a bottle of rum, drinking one glass and pouring another on the grave, till it was all gone, declaring, at each libation, how well she loved it when alive.' The same writer describes the usual operation of drink at a harvest in December, 1799. 'At the conclusion of the harvest,' he says, 'a slight disturbance took place among the Irish convicts at Toongebbe. Each man and woman who had been employed, having received a small quantity of spirits and water, which was ordered to be given them, its first effect was cheerful pleasantry, but it terminated in a riot; a circumstance by no means uncommon with these people.' He elsewhere calls spirits 'The forbidden fruit of New South Wales.'

The traffic in drink was so extensive as to be almost universal. There was established, in short, a thorough rum currency, the medium of exchange. The Rev. Dr. Ullathorne states that the three first magistrates were appointed to pay rewards, 'in gallons of spirits or money,' to those who had destroyed native dogs. In his examination before the House of Commons in 1811, Colonel Johnstone gave this evidence: 'As far as my observation went, the traffic was universal; officers, civil and military, clergy, every description of inhabitants, were under the necessity of paying for the necessities of life, for every article of consumption, in that sort of commodity which the people who had to sell were inclined to take.' Captain Remp bore similar testimony: 'The governor, clergy, officers, civil and military, all ranks and descriptions of people, bartered spirits when I left Sydney, in May, 1810.' The rum hospital was another curious exponent of the times. Governor Macquarie, from benevolent motives, was anxious to erect an asylum for the diseased about him, and he wished to do it at little or no cost to the treasury. A plausibly-clever expedient was hit upon. Any party who would undertake to construct the building, according to specifications, should have the exclusive monopoly in rum for four years. Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxcell, and Riley, three leading citizens, undertook the work, and profited by it. Dr. Lang might well say, however, 'In providing, therefore, for the physical

physical health of the colony, Governor Macquarie was actually overspreading the whole surface of its body politic, in a moral and spiritual sense, with "wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores."

The government, from the very first, sought to place some restraint upon sale in drink. In 1794, we read of stills being destroyed, and their owners punished. Permits were the only medium for obtaining liquor from the vessels in harbour; but it was soon seen that the quantity of liquor sold far exceeded that represented by the permits. Those who for some time held the exclusive possession of permits were the officers of the New South Wales corps, the supposed guardians of the lives and property of the colony. Governor Hunter struggled in vain against this evil influence, and wrote home about recalling such a disorderly band, who were the patrons of all evil. These gentlemen, it is said, kept their convict mistresses engaged in the outside traffic, so that they might have wholesale and retail advantage. Virtually holding the authority of the state in their hands, they derided the efforts of the governors to arrest their evil course. Nothing short of a revolution could bring matters to a crisis.

The license system was introduced into New Holland under peculiar circumstances. Notwithstanding the reiterated orders and even entreaties of the first governor, drink was introduced clandestinely and sold. The *morale* of the servants of the crown could not withstand the temptation of bribes to forego their duty, and of interest to share in the plunder. Sold anywhere and everywhere covertly, some restraint existed in the necessity of preserving an outward decorum, to avoid the direct action of the law for the offence. Fancying, as modern statesmen have done, that the introduction of a less exciting beverage would gradually displace the use of the stronger, Captain Phillip, in 1792, licensed a house for the sale of porter. But, as a practical illustration of the thorough impracticability of the measure, let us turn to the testimony of a reformed convict of that time: 'A license was granted for the sale of porter, but, as spirits were introduced, it in fact became a public-house, with its usual accompaniments, drunkenness and idleness.' The benevolent intentions of the officer were thus frustrated.

The governor thought the license system would be a restraint upon the drinking habits of the people. Where the government is strong enough to maintain its own authority, and really confine the sale to such houses, an advantage is gained; for experience clearly proves that intemperance is in every place proportioned to the facilities for sale. Yet when the habits of a people are corrupt, and the public guardians of the law will not or cannot make that law respected and obeyed, the mere nomination of certain licensed houses will be no check to the disposal of alcoholic liquors. This we know from our own observation in the outside rushes of the Victoria diggings, where, in the absence of proper legal restraint, the indiscriminate sale is practised, and the greatest debauchery and misery are the consequences. It was determined, then, to try in Sydney the orthodox system of public-houses. In an order of the day, the governor, in most earnest and even pathetic terms, calls upon his officers everywhere to sustain his authority, and to assist him in his exertions to stop that species of traffic from which, as he truly observes, 'the destruction of all industry was to be expected, and no good could result.'

The mode in which action was taken will appear from the following passage in the work of Barrington, the celebrated transported pickpocket of London, whose description of life at Botany Bay is graphic and true. 'To prevent, if possible,' says the author, 'the indiscriminate sale of spirits, which, notwithstanding all orders, prevailed, the governor thought granting licenses to a few persons might have a proper effect. Ten selected persons had licenses granted them for twelve months by three magistrates. They were bound in penalties of 20*l.*, and found two sureties in 10*l.* However, from the frequent intoxication which great numbers had been for some time seen in, there was reason to suspect that a greater quantity of spirits had been landed from the different ships than permits had been obtained for.'

In plain language, the system proved to be a failure. But, as some advantages were derived from the government recognition and protection of such houses, applications grew and multiplied. Then, as the free-trader of 25*l.* each for these licenses was found to be an easy mode of aiding the treasury, sanction

suction to such institutions was so extended, that we wonder not at the language of a visitor to Sydney. 'A great variety of taverns of an inferior description, and tippling houses of no mean amount are liberally strewed throughout.' Even the gaoler was permitted to have a house opened right before the prison door. Not only did the gentlemen of the New South Wales corps take a part in this thriving business, but, as Dr. Lang asserts, 'Most of the non-commissioned officers of the corps had licenses to sell spirits.' And still, although the government declared that the liquor of unlicensed salesmen should be seized, and their houses pulled down, illegal traffic appeared as abundant as ever.

Harassed and thwarted on all sides, by a people sunk in sensuality, and by officers of the law who aided and abetted the evil, our early governors sought, by what would be deemed arbitrary measures, to stay the social plague. Not only were stills found on private premises seized and destroyed, the very tenements of the contraband dealers pulled down, and particular places, and those under severe restrictions, permitted to sell, but in some instances the arm of the law appeared positively and absolutely to prohibit any sale whatever. Even the distinguished Mr. Wentworth, of Sydney, one of the ablest statesmen of Australia, and the very patriarch of colonial politicians, was forced by the circumstances of the settlement to declare, that drink was not only the cause of crime, but that the 'only chance of their improvement lay in absolute privation of drink.'

But to history again. In 1798, the farmers petitioned the governor about their unfortunate position. Two magistrates were sent to report upon their case, and the governor declared that he was resolved to adopt every means in his power to afford them relief. 'To begin which,' says a writer of that day, 'he found it necessary to shut many public-houses, which, when permitted, were meant as a convenience to the people; but he saw they were the chief cause from which many confessed their ruin to have sprung.'

Another historical sketch. About the year 1801, intelligence was brought to Government House, that the settlers on the Hawkesbury river, the chief seat of agriculture, were so besotted

with drink, and so lost to a sense of their own interests, in their devotion to dissipation, that they were absolutely permitting the season to pass without even sowing their fields. What was to be done? It is held by some political economists that the executive should on no occasion interfere with the exercise of trade, much less prohibit the use of any article of consumption. But how did Governor King act? The fate of the unhappy farmers themselves would have moved him to compassion; but he had the interests of a whole community confided to his charge. To leave the Hawkesbury settlers to perish by their folly would be cruelty; but to permit the whole colony to suffer from famine through the folly—this would be madness. To appeal to the moral natures of these wretched drunkards, who could not withstand the temptation of the grog-shop, while tearfully alive to their miserable condition, would be simple waste of words. To appeal to their selfishness, by a representation of the starvation awaiting their neglect, would be equally futile. The governor wisely calculated that, as the public-houses caused the supply of that which was destroying the people, their removal would stay the evil. He could not take the farmers from the drink, but he could try to keep the drink from the farmers. An order, therefore, was issued that no liquors be sent to 'that profligate district,' under severe penalties. More than this, reliable officers were sent through the Hawkesbury country, who took measures, prompt and certain, absolutely to prohibit, for a certain time, the sale of any intoxicating drinks which might be already in the district. The result was as might be supposed. Starved into surrender, the sobered farmers yoked their teams, got in their seed, and saved themselves and the colony from famine.

Though, in that early day, they could get up a theatre, they could not manage to build a church. Even when a church was erected, it was a very rude affair, and cost but forty pounds, though this was all out of the chaplain's pocket. The officials yet contrived to build an observatory at once; but the urgent state of public matters, some how or other, always prevented them setting the prisoners church building. Had these gentlemen themselves

selves ever attended service in the sun, they would have thought of their own convenience constructively.

Such, in fact, was the singular indifference to the religious wants of the convicts, that the fleet was on the point of sailing before any one thought of a chaplain; and when it was mentioned, there was some difficulty in appointing one. Nominally, Sunday was set apart as free from compulsory labour; although a singular passage occurs in one of the old records of the colony:—‘So incorrigible were some of the convicts, particularly those of the gaol gang, that they were ordered to work every Sunday on the highway for a punishment.’ Odd people they, in those primitive times, to give lessons in morals by doing without a church, and compelling sinners to break the Sabbath, by way of leading them to improved habits of virtue. These inconsistencies rather struck the Spanish visitors in 1793, especially as exhibited by the leading Protestant nation. The Spanish captain expressed great surprise at seeing a complete establishment, and no church; and quietly observed, that his people, in founding a settlement, first erected a House of God, and then set about putting up their own. When however, the Rev. W. Johnston put up his wattle and dab church, of sticks and mud, it did not remain long, being wilfully set on fire by some of the prisoners. The government then interfered, as it became a question of discipline, cleared out a store, and compelled, for a time, attendance twice on Sunday.

The general indifference to religious duties is shown by a writer of 1800: ‘It now became too obvious that, instead of employing the Sunday in the performance of those duties for which that day was set apart, it was passed in committing every vile act of dissipation.’ The magistrates were repeatedly urged by government to use their influence to prevent the opening of public-houses during the hours of service. A letter addressed from Sydney in 1814, thus describes the community: ‘Long accustomed to idleness and iniquity of all kinds, here they indulge their vicious inclinations without a blush. Drunkenness, adultery, sabbath-breaking, and blasphemy are no longer considered even as indecencies.’ Well might Bishop Broughton complain, when alluding to the general

depravity: ‘One great cause of such a state of things was an overwhelming defect of religious principle in the community.’ It was no unjust and unnatural accusation brought against the government, described in a Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: ‘It was reasonable to expect that the government which compelled these poor exiles to leave their native land of Christian hope, and to take root, against their will, in that dark land, would have supplied them freely with the means of religious instruction.’ Judge Burton, of Sydney, indulged in some very warm expressions upon this culpable neglect of duty.

Whatever patronage religion received there, it was entirely confined to one denomination of Christians. Though many convicts were from Ireland and Scotland, no provision was made for ministers of their creeds; while for those from England, but one form of worship was recognized. When the Wesleyan Conference appointed the Rev. Samuel Leigh to New South Wales, in 1814, Dr. Adam Clarke wrote to the British ministry for their permission. If he were to go as a schoolmaster, government would grant him a salary of 50*l.* But when Lord Sidmouth was told that in the double capacity of minister and schoolmaster they wished him to be recognized, the only reply was, an order sanctioning him as a schoolmaster. When he landed, he paid his respects to the governor, who said, ‘I regret you have come here as a missionary, and feel sorry that I cannot give you any encouragement in that capacity.’ However, by walking humbly, acting under the chaplain, and carefully following his own counsel to the Conference, ‘of course the preacher should not be radically a dissenter,’ he was permitted to go unmolested.

An unfortunate priest did not succeed so well. In his hurry to leave England, in 1818, he directed that his official papers, when signed, should be forwarded by the next vessel. When, however, he landed without his permit, a hue and cry was raised. For a time he concealed himself; but, being discovered, he was lodged in gaol for a day or two, and then quickly hurried on board a ship to see Old England again. The priest, however, left, as his only legacy, the wafer; to this crowds

crowds of Irishmen used reverently to come. Dr. Ullathorne, now a R.C. bishop in England, thus refers to the incident: 'It was remarkably beautiful to contemplate these men of sorrow round the Bread of Life, bowed down before the Crucified, no voice but the silent one of faith, not a priest within ten thousand miles to offer them that pledge of pardon to repentance, whose near presence they see and feel.'

A Presbyterian came next, a man of a different spirit from that of the gentle Wesleyan—a sturdy Scot, and one of a most determined character. He rushed at once upon the monopoly, as his ancestors had done upon the knightly ranks at Bannockburn. He would find himself quarters. And when the governor spoke with some dignity about the exclusive rights of the Establishment, and the readiness of that Church to grant toleration, Dr. Lang rather rudely said that he would take toleration from no church, but that it was a part of the constitution. Unable to get aid for his building, he wrote home, and went home, and so succeeded.

But this unpleasant state of things lasted until Governor Bourke's Act of 1835. This declared all religious bodies equal in the sight of the law, and grants were to be made to each in certain uniform and equitable proportions, and according to the amount of attendance at church, with the contribution of those attending. Since that period there have been less of those religious contentions which disgraced the earlier times.

Although liberal grants were made to the clergy from the first appointment, the poor schoolmaster was little regarded in New South Wales. The children were sometimes tended by a female, and then by an infirm male convict. Upon solicitations from the clergyman to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the liberal sum of twenty pounds was promised per annum;—that is, ten pounds a year each to the two teachers so recommended. Orphan schools were established by the colonial government. These were less for the reception of orphans than for the offspring of crime. Subsequently, the British government took the extraordinary course of making over one-seventh of the unsold lands of New South Wales to the Church of England, for church

and school purposes. But repenting of their order, two years after, they revoked the grant. Gradually the claims of the children were heeded, and adequate provision, on a liberal basis, was made for their instruction.

The condition of woman in that early period of social degradation must be the subject of our last inquiry.

Poets have long and truly sung of the charms of beauty; of the chain of roses by which we of the rougher sex are so willingly bound; of the sweet attractive grace, by which the virtuous female rules the heart, and guides the ways of man. But were Homer, Petrarch, Byron, Burns, condemned to live with the outcasts of Britain on the sandstone shore of Port Jackson, their lyres would have dropped from their hands, and their enrapturing fancies ignominiously fallen, as the vain hero from the chariot of the sun. Poetry and Botany Bay have no indissoluble association. The sweet retreats by the mirroring waters of those matchless coves; the soft airs, which played about the flowers of that southern Eden; the still moonlight, which slept in the palm groves, and silvered in coolness the sands which had glowed in the sun; all these excitants of poetry, and active agents with the tender passion, existed in vain for such a people, in whom a life of sin had checked the rise of emotions of virtuous and exalted joys.

Fain would we retire from the thankless work of portraying female vices; but historical faithfulness forbids us halting here. It is, however, most gratifying to know that so unpromising a soil has given birth to a race of maidens, whose household excellencies and personal attractions are rivalled by their modest demeanour and virtuous deportment. It is not our office here to show the processes of this progressive development, but to state the fact. We now turn with sorrow from the smiling light of the present to the groaning shades of the past.

When first landed, Captain Collins, afterwards Governor of Van Diemen's Land, tells us, they were, as a community, given up to the wildest disorder. The sexes had been separated on board: but the want of accommodation, and still greater want of discipline and moral proprieties in the officers, threw men and women together in most shameless licentiousness.

ness. Then came the cry for marriage, as the only remedy for these irregularities. The people were urged to pair themselves without delay. But few questions were asked as to the existence of prior ties in the mother country, and their affirmation of the non-existence of such obligations was generally accepted, for want of proof to the contrary, and from a desire to place some restraint upon these unchristian, nay, inhuman revels. The torch of Hymen illuminated the forest of this new world; but the attendance of the Graces and Virtues was dispensed with for the occasion. About three years after particularly, and much earlier generally, a love of change begot grave doubts as to the legality of these unions; and many men and women of tender consciences separated, to form new and more satisfactory ties, though of a fraailer nature. So extensive was the spread of these scruples, and so disastrous the effects of such sensitiveness of morals, that in 1791 the governor issued out an order declaring the absolutely binding character of the colonial knot; which, though not made in a church, or even, perhaps, with due legal and religious celebrations, must be regarded, and should be regarded, as 'all right.' This was done, as Captain Collins says, 'as a check upon the erroneous opinions that were formed of Mr. Johnstone's (the clergyman) nuptial benediction.'

We are bound, however, to confess, that, in spite of these ill-sorted marriages, and the bonuses given to those who contracted them, the majority preferred freedom from even the sham of restraint: for the historian of New South Wales declares, 'Neither marrying nor giving in marriage was thought of in the colony.' By far the majority of the officers of government lived in open concubinage, and set an example of promiscuous viciousness.

A very lax system prevailed for many years in the shipping of these unfortunate women. They were not then, as of late years, placed under the care of a respectable matron, and every prudential means adopted for their separation from the officers and crew of the vessel, the authority over them being only in the hands of the matron and the medical officer, with checks and counter checks, at home and in the colonies, upon their judicious control: on the contrary, they

were herded together without the semblance of moral training or restraint, and permitted to mix with the sailors under the most shameless circumstances. Nay, such was the official neglect of this promiscuous intercourse on board ship, that it got a defender, in print, of one who, as surgeon, was sent out in charge of a lot of them. This was written as late as 1826, and gives a fearful exposition of the cruel indifference of government, and even the disgraceful oversight of a Christian people. These, then, are the terms in which this government officer, this medical guardian of female convicts, ventures publicly to express his opinion: 'Formerly, they lived promiscuously with the seamen on the voyage out, and the voyage was certainly brought to a close more harmoniously than now, and, strange to say, with greater benefit to the reformation of these females, for the time at least, when the rules of decency were not outraged in the intercourse.' (!!!) Again, he adds, 'They thus became initiated in the moral principle of personal attachment, unknown to them before.' We cannot wonder that such a defender of gross sensuality should be an apologist for the disgusting libertinism of the captain and his crew: 'Poor Jack,' writes he, 'is planted in a perfect garden of temptation, when among, probably, a hundred of such fair seducers.'

Even on the voyages which he himself conducted, he scruples not to avow that he ridiculed some of these women out of their methodistical notions, and that he persecuted one who would persist in reading the Bible, out of sheer hypocrisy, as he tells us. He chooses to say: 'I have observed that all the moralising and philosophising classes among them are drunkards.' He thinks that 'mewing up the women in penitentiaries seldom produces any other than mere outward show.' He advocates setting the women free, upon their arrival, to do as they like; 'taking care to punish them for drunkenness or common prostitution.' He is quite merry at the expense of a few colonial friends of virtue, who would restrain the erratic habits of these wretched women, and most benevolently assures the reader of his book that 'our colonial females may be said to be sacrificed to the fanciful speculation of preserving an ideal morality.'

morality among our depraved English importations.' Thank God, that such speculations were practised, that our currency lasses were kept from immoral contact, and that the outward exhibition of vice was restrained! The same miserable writer, Dr. Cunningham, delighting in giving the worst possible representation to the female character, sports with the subject of free emigration of women, and delighted himself with the story of the 'Twelve Apostles,' sent out by some religious society, and who certainly were very notorious for their impropriety, and so obtained their sobriquet. They were placed on board ship, without supervision by the benevolent but unheeding ladies, and fell a prey to the dissolute sailors. Our doctor gloats over this depravity in these words: 'A goodly proportion of that chosen band being found in a matronly way by the reverend inspector who visited them on arrival.'

Who, after this, can wonder at the foul condition of early female society, with such disgraceful officers as their guardians? Who with heart to feel can help weeping over the fallen daughters of Britain, thus left, like rudderless vessels, to drift upon the rocks of destruction; or rather, like helpless barks in the hands of the wicked, led and plunged onward upon those serried barriers? How much harrowing misery and heaven-darkening crime might have been avoided had British Christians, at least, while not unmindful of their sable, pagan sisters, had some thought and prayer for their own countrywomen, thus launched upon a sea of flame! It was not alone the fate of the moral lepers of the streets thus cast from their midst, but those young creatures who, impelled by want to quit the competitive haunts of the old land, were exposed, unfriended, to the fiercest temptation. We wonder not to read of one who, so late as in 1831, beheld the city of Sydney swarming with prostitutes, the fruit of early female free emigration. They had to pass through a fire to a fire.

But to return to our sad story of the early times of the convict women of New South Wales. When, in progress of time, emancipists and free settlers

got homes in farms or business places, servants became necessary. The government had, therefore, one way of disposing of the poor creatures now. Immediately upon their arrival they were hired out to those who would take them. Having ourselves resided for several years in a convict country, and obtained servants from the prison ships, we can speak of the old assignment system. With many advantages, it had its defects. If a man had permission to hire a girl, she was bound to go. Upon the character of the party, therefore, depended her peace and moral condition. In too many cases the hiring of such women was but concubinage. As early as 1810, Governor Macquarie mourned over the evil.

We cannot go on with this dreadful tale. Justly as our indignation may be excited at the conduct of Christian men permitting such a lazarus-house of moral filth to exist so long in the midst of a civilized community, we must restrain our feelings in the reflection that even now, in the land of Bibles and churches, the favoured Britain of light, the horrors and defilements of intemperance are seen and acknowledged by good men with a sigh and a shudder, but without the movement of a finger to relieve the country of such a curse. We have presented before the reader a story of the past, a truthful detail of crime and sorrow in the penal settlement of New South Wales. But this refers to an epoch now past and gone. A better day has dawned. Religion has there a resting-place and home. Science and philosophy are there recognized. The fane of piety and the gallery of the arts flourish there. Temperance holds its high and noble festivals there. But here, in this centre of greatness and goodness, have we not still an amount of dishonest criminality, drunken shame, and licentious bestiality, which fills us with loathing and disgust, but which should stir up the devout to prayer, and the earnest to labour, and so turn us, with blushing cheeks and tearful eyes, to look inward, even from the spectacles of shame exhibited in the early social state of New South Wales?

ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE past quarter has been full of social incidents and fraught with political interest. At home and abroad events and movements of unusual portent have commanded the earnest attention of the politician and the publicist. Our sphere of observation is chiefly social and domestic, yet we cannot altogether overlook the march of great events in the political arena and among the nations of the earth. From our neutral stand-point we cannot discuss the state or party questions that may be involved in topics and complications abroad. Our function is not to debate or to advocate, but merely to state some of the more prominent facts and acts of the passing hour. Selection and brevity are imperative, or we should be glad to extend our summary, and to dilate upon some of the points as they pass before us.

Our relations with China are not at all satisfactory, and a gloomy foreboding is felt as to the result of the diplomatic and military manœuvres being carried on against that ancient and unique nation.

Indian politics are being complicated by a retrograde policy of fiscal measures, based upon anti-free-trade principles. This uncommercial, and we may now say un-English system, has been introduced by Mr. James Wilson, the ex-editor of the 'Economist,' and quondam friend of the anti-corn law leaguers. Whether the scheme will be carried out fully or materially modified has yet to be seen. Cholera has carried off the great minister of finance in the council of India, Mr. James Wilson, who died of that fearful disease at Calcutta on the 11th of August last. Sir H. G. Ward, Governor of Madras, died of the same malady but a few days previously.

From Syria we have had a series of horrible communications announcing the most fiendish atrocities and brutal butcheries that the annals of civil war ever contained. European intervention has at last stimulated Turkish officialism to energetic action, in order to repress and avenge the barbarities committed by the Druses and other lawless tribes upon the Christians of Lebanon.

In Italy great and absorbing eventualities are being wrought out, as with

the force of fate and the certain step of a foreseen destiny. In that classic land of genius, art, and early civilization, where liberty has so often struggled, triumphed, and been stricken; where poets and painters, priests and potentates, have given historic interest to every foot of land—thither all eyes are turned to watch and wait the evolution of events so grand that the nations are spell-bound in their contemplation. The name and fame of one brave man, his daring heroism, his unselfish policy, his generosity, patriotism, magnanimity, and dauntless spirit attract volunteer armies to his banner. He wins battles without blows; takes fortresses without a siege; enters Naples without troops; and, unless foreign potentates intervene, seems destined to establish Italy as a free and united kingdom, almost without bloodshed! In strategy a Napoleon, in patriotism a Washington, in 'pluck' a Wellington, Garibaldi is the Cromwell of Italy and of the nineteenth century.

England, France, Austria, Prussia, and the other European powers, large and small, have been intently looking upon this grand Italian drama, wherein General Garibaldi stands out as the master and the minister of events which promise ere long to culminate in liberty to a down-trodden people, who have been ruled over by tyrants more cruel than Nero, and more vile than Cataline! Will Hungary and Poland, and other down-trodden peoples, receive a new impulse and power? and will they also come forth from the house of bondage to join the communion of free and independent states? Italy free! That will be a fact that will strike terror to other despots besides Francis II., and will send an electric thrill of joy, and call forth aspirations beyond Italian boundaries. But we must not forecast the European future; we can but point to the pregnant events of the present moment, and echo the glad shout, *Viva l'Italia una!*

American politics are assuming a deep interest as the presidential contest culminates to its issues. On this occasion the conflict will be sharp and probably decisive, as between the democratic slave-holding party on the one hand, and the republican friends

of freedom on the other. The candidate most likely to be elected, Abraham Lincoln, is the chosen of the friends of freedom. He is a most devoted and tried friend of liberty and equality for all races, colours, and conditions of men. He is also an earnest and consistent temperance reformer, and his influence will be cast in favour of liquor prohibition. Neil Dow speaks of him as 'a thoroughly reliable friend' of the temperance cause, and anticipates that his advent to office will be a triumph and a great gain to the movement.

The 'long-winded session of parliament' has come to a close, its sittings having been protracted to the end of August. It has aimed at much but has accomplished comparatively little.

Mr. Gladstone's pet measure, the Wine Licences Act, has been extended to Ireland. The measure was earnestly resisted to the last, and but for the unaccountable pertinacity and energy of the finance minister it would have fallen through or been rejected. It was carried only at the last hour of the session, eight peers speaking strongly against it, and not one, except the government mouthpiece, to say a word for it. But it seems that some state necessity had decreed that Ireland must also be 'soberised' by extended drinking facilities. Lord Denman recorded a spirited protest against the pernicious measure. The Wine Bill for Scotland, under pressure of 'time,' was withdrawn for the present; but as most of the Scottish members voted in favour of the English Wine Act, it is to be feared that they are too far committed to Mr. Gladstone's policy to retreat. The evidence and report of the royal commission on the Scottish licence system have been laid before Parliament and printed in two ponderous volumes. What will be the practical outcome thereof it is not easy to forecast. The Sunday liquor traffic prohibition is favourably reported of, and Mr. Gladstone's free wine licence scheme is recommended for Scotland! This latter point seems to have been appended through some special influence or representation from the government, there being nothing in the evidence taken by the commissioners, or in the terms of the commission itself, to warrant such a gratuitous and fallacious recommendation.

The new Wine Licence Act contains

a number of restrictive provisions, which if faithfully and energetically enforced will not be without practical value. The two clauses 39 and 40 have an important bearing upon the sale of all intoxicating liquors. The one severs the connection of complicity between the publicans and the police, and the other provides imprisonment for drunkenness.

The clauses are as follows:—

'39. Every person licensed to sell wine, spirits, beer, cider, or any other fermented or distilled liquors by retail to be drunk or consumed on the premises, who knowingly harbours, or entertains, or suffers to remain in the place wherein he carries on his business, any constable during any part of the time appointed for his being on duty, unless for the purpose of quelling any disturbance or restoring order, shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty shillings.

'40. Every person found drunk in any street or public thoroughfare, and who while drunk is guilty of any riotous or indecent behaviour, shall, upon summary conviction of such offence before two justices, be liable to a penalty of not more than forty shillings for every such offence, or may be committed, if the justices or magistrate before whom he is convicted think fit, instead of inflicting on him any pecuniary penalty, to the House of Correction for any time not more than seven days.'

Were these two clauses acted upon with integrity, they would do much to redeem the bad character and evil influence of this unfortunate act. But, alas! no one ever expects that the protective provisions of a licence act will be carried out. Indeed, the system is so vicious and rotten, that were such provisions faithfully carried out, it would tumble to pieces through its inherent badness. Hence these restrictive features of the law are allowed to become dead-letters.

As a set-off to the reduction of duties on wines we may give Mr. Gladstone credit for having enhanced the spirit duty to 10s. per gallon, not only as a fiscal measure, but on moral grounds, as clearly intimated by the chancellor. A new Spirits Act, with 203 clauses, has also been passed, its provisions coming into force on the 1st October, 1860. It has stringent provisions against supplying spirits to be unlawfully retailed, and having in possession spirits not duty paid; against retailing or using spirits in gaols; against hawking or selling spirits in unlicensed places.

A new colliery act has also received the legislative and royal sanction, one of its objects being to protect the morals and the wages of the working

working miners, by prohibiting the payment of wages in proximity to places where intoxicating liquors are retailed.

'The Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act' of the past session affords another instance of social legislation in the direction of 'Meliora.' Wells, fountains, and pumps, provided under the 'Public Health Act,' 1848, or otherwise, are to be vested in the local authority, who may cause wells to be digged, and fountains or pumps to be provided for the use of the inhabitants of the place, keeping them in good condition and free from pollution, and open to the use of the inhabitants. Any person guilty of polluting any such well, fountain, or pump, is to be fined a sum not exceeding 5*l.* upon summary conviction.

'An Act for Preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food or Drink' claims our notice and sympathy. It enacts that 'Every person who shall sell any article of food or drink, with which, to the knowledge of such person, any ingredient or material injurious to the health of persons eating or drinking such article, has been mixed, and every person who shall sell as pure or unadulterated any article of food or drink which is adulterated or not pure, shall for every such offence forfeit and pay a penalty not exceeding 5*l.*, together with costs, &c.' Public Analysts are to be appointed, and purchasers of articles are to have them analysed on payment of a sum not less than 2*s.* 6*d.*, nor more than 10*s.* 6*d.* The certificate of the analyst is to be received as evidence. Justices, at their discretion, may also employ the public analyst to test articles of food and drink.

'An Act to Amend the Law concerning the making, keeping, and carriage of Gunpowder, and Compositions of an Explosive nature' is another measure passed by the recent session. It contains a clause (16) that enacts a penalty, not exceeding 5*l.*, for doing any act in any mill, &c., tending to cause explosion. Another clause (22) enjoins a like penalty for smoking, &c., on board vessels loaded with gunpowder, or permitting the same.

In all these acts, and various others, the legislature evince a wise and humane regard for the health, morals, and life of the lieges; and there cannot be a doubt but the time will come, and ere long, when our senators, who

are now but beginning to understand the first principles of a true social science, will see that it devolves upon the state, as an incumbent and inexorable duty, to repress, abate, and abolish, the liquor traffic, as being a public nuisance, a cause of disease, a source of temptation, social corruption, disaster, death, and havoc, far beyond any other and all other causes combined.

The Saturday half-holiday movement is making some progress in the metropolis; though we regret to observe that, so far, it is but a Saturday early-closing move, and has not yet become generally adopted. In Manchester, the metropolis of the north, so often sneered at as 'Cottonopolis,' the warehouses and offices, with many of the retail places of business, close from one o'clock on Saturday afternoon. It will be well when London and all the large towns of England (and the small ones too) adopt this excellent system. Man cannot live by labour alone; but requires relaxation and rest from his toils, in order to the due development and conservation of his physical health and moral stamina.

Cremorne Gardens are in the market, and a prospectus has been issued for the formation of a 'Royal Cremorne Garden Company (Limited).' The proprietor, it is said, has realized an ample fortune; and he now wishes that the results of his philanthropic labours may be shared by others. The prospectus is adorned with the name of Lord Henry Gordon, Sir George Duckett, Bart., Theophilus Clive, Esq., and John Simpson, Esq., with power to add to their number from the shareholders, to direct the company. Mr. Simpson estimates that 20 per cent profits will be realized; but the merits of the speculation are set forth as consisting in the fact (query fiction?) that these gardens tend to ameliorate the condition of the people in a social, moral, and religious point of view; and that the company is sure to command and receive the attention of the public! The readers of 'Meliora' will make their own comments on such unblushing attempts to insult and outrage every sense of moral decorum and religious sentiment. If such infamous places as Cremorne are to be tolerated and upheld, it is far better that they belong to private speculators than to public companies.

The newspaper press of the country

is at last being informed as to the real facts connected with the drinking habits of the people in the wine-shops of France. The disclosures of M. Jules Simon have dissipated the darkness and misconception of sagacious editors and social reformers, in regard to 'continental sobriety' and 'light wines.' The 'Standard' says, 'It is a little startling to find the other favourite theory [of Mr. Gladstone] that light wines and temperance go together, also destroyed under the weight of inexorable facts.' The readers of 'Meliora' would have been 'startled' had the facts supported a theory so manifestly flimsy and fallacious. It is to be hoped that Mr. Gladstone, as a wise and honest statesman, will, in future, make his temperance legislation harmonize with the logic of 'inexorable

facts.' He may then hope to do something on behalf of national sobriety worthy of his great name and lofty ambition.

The 'National Association for the Promotion of Social Science,' is holding (as we go to press) its fourth annual congress in the city of Glasgow, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord Brougham. Every friend of social science and amelioration will watch its proceedings with absorbing interest. Next quarter we shall hope to record the results of the congress; in the mean time we earnestly exhort every reader of 'Meliora' to do his utmost in the domestic, social, and moral sphere of his being to promote the cause of education, temperance, and philanthropy, remembering that no true and noble man 'liveth to himself.'

ART. IX.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

Harry Birkett. The Story of a Man who helped himself. By the Author of 'Liverpool Life.' London: Tweedie. 1860.

THIS story is without a plot, and makes no attempt at fine description or eloquent writing. It is a very commonplace tale very plainly told. It is, nevertheless, a little work of great value, and likely to be of good service to the cause for which it has been prepared. Harry Birkett was the son of a drunken father, but of an excellent and Christian mother. He was early taken under the guardianship of a sagacious Scotchman, who taught him how to help himself. The way in which this was done, the trials through which he passed, and the happy result, are presented in succession. The work is well adapted to young men about to start in life.

The Reaction between Churches and the Civil Government. A Lecture by F. W. Newman, Professor of Latin in University College, London.

THAT religious sentiment ought to influence public law is plainly enforced in the Scriptures; but it is not fully believed, or acted upon, by governments. Mr. Newman has set forth this duty in a very clear and forcible manner. Though we cannot agree with all that he has said, yet we indorse the statement that 'to shelter the weak in

mind from excessive temptation is as much a duty of society as to rescue the weak in body from attack.'

The Scientific Basis of the Temperance Movement. An Address to the Medical Students of Glasgow University. By James M. McCulloch, Esq., M.D., Dumfries.

THIS lecture is characterised by Dr. McCulloch's usual decision and courage, lucid argument and plain counsel. If the medical profession abjured strong drink, what a blessing would result to the land!

True Womanhood. Memorials of Eliza Hessel. By Joshua Priestley. Second edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859.

THIS biography is in its second edition, which it fully merits. 'The grounds on which this volume invite public attention,' says the author, 'may be stated in few words. Miss Hessel's history illustrates how a young woman, with only ordinary advantages, may effect great self-improvement, and diffuse a joyous and quickening influence in the social circle. By aiming earnestly at the cultivation of all her powers, and the practical recognition of all her relationships, she exhibited a combination of excellencies too generally dissociated.' Amply fulfilling these grounds, Mr. Priestley's

Priestley's heroine does exhibit 'true womanhood' worthy of the study of her sex. It is vastly superior to female biography in general. Miss Hessel was a person of good sense, strong mind, poetic tastes, and ardent sympathies. Those who peruse her biography, can scarcely fail to derive great benefit from the bright and encouraging example so admirably set before them.

The English Universities and the English Poor. Three Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. Thomas J. Rowsell, M.A. Cambridge : Macmillan & Co. 1859.

BROAD church views attached to high church claims characterise these sermons. They contain some excellent matter, and overflow with a generous sympathy. There is a hearty recognition of the Church's duty to the poor by the training up of right men at the universities, to preach among the people the bread of life. The lay element is also earnestly called for. He says: 'Many may live in cities or villages where they can originate or second all kindly efforts to improve the sanitary state of the people; and it is no slight work of good to remove some of those causes which undermine the commonest morality of a population.'

Good Company; the Commercial Room and the Bottle. By John Burns, ex-Traveller, Lecturer to the South Wales Total Abstinence Association. London : Tweedie.

THERE are evidences in this lecture of considerable ability in the author to advocate the Temperance cause.

De l'Association dans ses rapports avec l'Amelioration du sort de Classe Ouvrière. Par Ed. Ducpetiaux, Inspecteur-Général des Prisons et des Établissements de Bienfaisance, Membre de l'Académie Royale. Bruxelles : Hayez. 1860.

ANYTHING concerning social science from the pen of M. Ducpetiaux must secure attention. He has been for many years a most enthusiastic social reformer, and deeply interested in the question which relates to the improvement of the working classes. His fame and his high position give great weight to his views, and render them very valuable and useful to those who would fain aid their fellow-men, but who know not how to do it.

The pamphlet before us deserves a fuller notice than we can at present bestow upon it; but we advise our readers, who know the French language sufficiently well, to procure and peruse this small work. It was read at one of the sittings of the Classe de Lettres in the Royal Belgic Academy on the 11th May last. The following question had been put for discussion : 'What are the useful and practical applications of the principle of association for ameliorating the condition of the working and indigent classes?' M. Ducpetiaux did not think the question sufficiently well understood, and for the purpose of enlightening the minds of persons who ought to be interested in the matter, he drew up his 'Memoir.' Though within a space of forty-six pages we could scarcely expect the subject to be discussed at great fulness, yet the chief points are touched upon with much philosophic wisdom and accurate information. In an appendix nearly as large as the text, various details are skilfully handled. Questions affecting the morality, industry, and happiness of the working classes are discussed by the pen of a practical sociologist.

The Temperance Spectator. Published monthly. London : Horsell and Caudwell. August and September.

THIS serial deserves well of the temperance public. It takes a high position, and treats questions affecting this department of social science with much philosophic skill and practical power. The information, argument, and dissertation contained within the monthly number make it superior to any periodical of the kind with which we are acquainted.

Temperance of Wine Countries. A Letter by E. C. Delavan, Esq., of Albany, New York. Manchester : United Kingdom Alliance.

A MORE enlightened observer and a higher authority on this question could not be found than in the veteran temperance reformer, Mr. Delavan. His observations go directly in the teeth of the arguments of those who profess to favour the introduction of French wines for the purpose of sobering the people of England. Let all who think so read the letter of Mr. Delavan, which will surely open their eyes.

• *Teetotalism:*

Teetotalism: The Christian's Duty. A Sermon preached at St. Botolph's Church, on behalf of the City of London Temperance Association, by the Very Rev. Francis Close, D.D., Dean of Carlisle. London: Partridge and Co. 1860.

THE Dean of Carlisle has spoken out on the ethics of teetotalism. He regards it as the duty of a Christian. In the sermon before us this point is argued and applied with great force. The Dean may not take his stand upon the same foundation as some of the advocates of abstinence, but his view of the duty of good men in relation to it is the same. We may not agree as to the physiology of temperance, or as to the duty of abstaining from alcohol in the abstract, but as a condition-of-England question it is, in the Dean's opinion, so plainly a duty of every Christian man to join, support, and extend the temperance reformation, that there must be much guilt in those who from prejudice do not examine the matter, or from fancied notions of their liberty, or their health, refuse to abstain: to such he says, in the language of his text, 'Neither be partakers of other men's sins.' When Mrs. Wightman advanced in her social reform among the butchers and other working men of Shrewsbury, she arrived at the conviction that she could no longer 'be a Christian and not a total abstainer than she could be a Christian and a drunkard.' This is strong language, but it is the earnest utterance of a self-denying philanthropy. The Dean informs us that 'Few people have any idea of the extent of the evil, nor had I myself at one time. Happily, I was thrown into a new position in the Church of God, or I should probably never have joined this movement had I remained where I was. I respected the men who carried it on; but at that period the enormity of the evil did not strike me. When I moved northward, and was thrown where now I have the happiness of labouring amongst the industrial classes—amongst those noble fellows whose limbs and sinews are the main strength of the country—I studied their character, and entered their homes and families, and, in many instances, I found their bodily and mental vigour withered and dried up by this cursed drink,—then I thought

something must be done, and *I must take my part in this great movement—I must do what I can to urge it forward.*'

The Dean is a thorough Prohibitionist. 'It is,' he says, 'a singular fact that hundreds and thousands of drunkards and drinkers in Glasgow, Greenock, in my own city of Carlisle, and in the manufacturing districts, thousands and tens of thousands have signed the petition for shutting up the public-houses. There are some who think that such a measure would cause a disturbance; but if they were all shut up to-morrow morning, I would undertake to keep the peace of the town. . . . Oh, brethren! believe me, you will do very much for your country and generation if you join with us; and I believe the time will come when many who are now opposed to it will be the warm advocates of a Permissive Maine Law, which will not only stretch out the hand of might against sin, but close those doors of temptation and infamy.'

Observations on Street Railways. By George Francis Train. Addressed to the Rt. Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P., President of the Board of Trade. Second Edition. London: S. Low and Son. 1860.

WHAT America with its modern streets and business has accomplished for the more expeditious conveyance of passengers through the crowded thoroughfares, Mr. Train, very properly argues, England ought to do and must do. He has inaugurated the era of street railways in this empire, by the opening of the first at Birkenhead a short time ago. He has every confidence in the success and extension of his invention. In a letter to the President of the Board of Trade he announces this dictum in the first page: 'The age of omnibuses in crowded cities has passed.' The pamphlet, despite its boasting, will be read with interest by all who desire information on this coming change. We wish Mr. Train triumphant success, and we have no doubt that ere long we shall see and enjoy his commodious cars on the streets of London instead of those close boxes where passengers now are stowed, and crushed, and associated with all manner of people. 'Success in Birkenhead,' says Mr. Train, 'is success in all the cities of Europe.'

Phinehas;

Phinehas; or, Scripture Paramount
London: Partridge and Co. 1860.

UNDER this Old Testament name, the small but dogmatic book comes out to stay the plague now infecting divines and geologists as to the supposed antiquity of the earth. The author professes very profound reverence for Scripture, and very little regard for scientific truth—as if between the word and works of God there could possibly be any discord. There may be difficulties in their reconciliation; but we are not yet arrived at the period in the progress of science to pronounce on what is to be the ultimate relation of the two theologies—natural and revealed. How can any man be listened to who lays down the following titles to chapters of his work—‘The supposed great antiquity of the earth is contradicted by Scripture’; ‘The supposed proofs of the earth’s antiquity very debatable?’ It is not the first time that the Bible has been brought into ridicule by its friends. It is true that ‘Scripture is permanent’; but it is also true that the Bible does not fix the antiquity of the earth. If controversialists have nothing more to say than the author of this *brochure*, they had better be silent.

Poems. By Morgan de Pembroke.
London: A. W. Bennett. 1860.

THERE is a faultless rhyme in these poems; but the author might have been satisfied with the ‘Poets Corner’ in the *Sentimental Journal*, until his muse had gained maturity. Yet there is evident ability to set to ringing verses the thoughts of his soul. The mechanics of poetry, however, do very little to make the poet.

The Way Home; or, the Gospel in the Parable; an Earthly Story with a Heavenly Meaning. By the Rev. Charles Bullock, Rector of St. Nicholas, Worcester. Third Edition. Edinburgh: Strahan and Co. 1860.

WE are glad to see this little work in a cheap form circulating by thousands. It discusses with singular felicity, and applies with considerable force, the lessons taught in the touching parable of the Prodigal Son. The author exhibits powers eminently fitting him to become a public instructor in an earnest active age like the present. He clothes his theme with interest and beauty, invests it with grace and mo-

mentous importance, and fixes it closely upon the reader’s mind. The anxious inquirer will find good counsel, and sound instruction administered in a most affectionate and skilful manner in this exposition. Without at all being tedious, he has drawn forth fourteen chapters from the parable. Each, however, stands apart, though fitting in to the whole. On the Prodigal’s derangement there are some most excellent and suggestive thoughts; and of the elder brother there is a sound and satisfactory exposition.

England and Missions. By the Rev. F. Bosworth, M.A., of Bristol.
London: H. J. Tresidder. 1860.

THIS sermon was preached before the Baptist Missionary Society, and is replete with arguments admirably wrought out, and information most philosophically applied, which give it a high place among sermon literature. Its earnest evangelism and philanthropy breathe in every page, and pass from the discoverer as read into the reader’s soul.

The English Universities and the English Poor. Three Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge.
By the Rev. T. I. Rowsell, M.A., Incumbent of St. Peter’s, Stepney, and Chaplain to the Duke of Sutherland. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1859.

MR. ROWSELL was the select preacher to the University for November, 1859. He resolved to press upon the members of the halls of learning—many of whom might afterwards enter upon the sacred office, and all of whom would have their influence—the claims of the poor throughout the land, and especially in our large towns. ‘Surely,’ he says, ‘if in any part of our country and church we have a right to hope for serious and profound care and pains-taking, now that we are convinced of this great spiritual destitution, it is at Oxford and Cambridge; and it will be readily understood, that if our poor and labouring people could know that our most thoughtful and learned bodies were employing time and talent, and flesh and blood, to open up wider roads of sympathy, and so prepare a highway for our God, they would understand, and we all should understand, much more affectionately our mutual position.’

Taking,

Taking, as the foundation of his sermons, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, Mr. Rowsell shows how Christ adapted himself to the necessities of men; and how He employed his disciples to aid in his work of sympathy and ministration. There are throughout these discourses a manliness of tone and a Christian solicitude for the real welfare of the humblest of the people: a clear statement of the duty, both of clergy and laity, to devote themselves to the blessed work of doing good, and an earnest appeal to young men to dedicate themselves to this missionary labour at home. Amidst so much that is valuable and impressive, we regret to meet with a boastful churchism in these excellent and elegant discourses.

Sects in Syria; or Notices of the different Forms of Religion professed in Syria and Palestine. By B. H. Cowper. London: Tresidder.

In the estimate of the author, as stated in his preface, his pages are 'the merest compendium, and claim no honour on the score of profound and critical research.' It would have been better, we think, if we had been spared all the subdivisions, and the hair-splitting of his alphabetical list appended to the pamphlet. We have much information, but gathered together with evident haste, and scarcely worth doing up in a pamphlet.

The Principles and Practice of Vegetarian Cookery, founded on Chemical Analysis, and embracing the most approved methods of the Art. By the Author of 'Fruits and Farinacea the proper Food of Man.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1860.

To those interested in cookery this

must prove an invaluable book, while to those who are vegetarians it affords abundant recipes for food without once resorting to the butcher or the fishmonger. Mr. Smith founds his cookery upon the principles of chemical science; and those who conform to his directions cannot fail to provide most palatable and nutritious dishes. One is almost surprised at the luxurious style of living which a vegetarian provides for; but our author nevertheless remarks that all 'operations in cookery should be conducted with the greatest possible attention to cleanliness, neatness, elegance, and economy. The food of man, as provided by nature, is agreeable to the senses of sight, smell, and taste, and all artificial preparations should be calculated to produce similar results. An elegant taste, however, will be more rationally employed in rendering a plain, wholesome, and nutritious dish inviting, than in embellishing trifles, custards, and other rich productions, which are more likely to create indigestion than to satisfy a natural appetite.' We commend this book to our readers as complete, scientific, and satisfactory.

The Comparative Properties of Human and Animal Milks. By M. A. Baines. London: Churchill. 1860.
The Practice of Hiring Wet Nurses. By the same.

In our last Number we stated that these pamphlets were issued by the Ladies' Sanitary Association; but we have since observed that they are not so. The first on the list is a very able and admirable paper read before a medical audience at the Hanover Square Rooms last February. The subject is of more consequence than the general reader will anticipate, and deserves to be considered at length.

Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America in 1799—1804.* By Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland. Translated by Thomasina Ross. 3 vols. London: Bohn. 1852.

2. *Cosmos: or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* 5 vols. By A. von Humboldt. Bohn. 1845—1858.

3. *Views of Nature; or, Contemplations of the Sublime Phenomena of Creation.* By the same. Bohn.

4. *Alexander von Humboldt: a Biographical Monument.* By Professor Klencke. Translated from the German by Juliette Bauer. London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co. 1852.

5. *The Life, Travels, and Books of Alexander von Humboldt.* With an Introduction by Bayard Taylor. New York: Rudd and Carleton. London: Low and Son. 1859.

‘WHO is the Baron von Humboldt, that you present him to me with so much *empressement*? I have never heard of him,’ said the young Emperor of Austria a few years ago to the King of Prussia. ‘Not heard of him?’ exclaimed the king, ‘why he is the greatest man since the Deluge!’ We do not suppose any of our readers are so ignorant as the Kaiser Francis Joseph, when the name of Alexander von Humboldt is mentioned, —a name which, for the most part of the present century, has possessed a cosmopolitan fame. Nevertheless, as he has lately passed away from the living, and well-nigh half a century after his early honours were won, many may wish to possess a succinct account of his life, travels, and contributions to science, in order to estimate his character and worth. Hero-worship has in him one of its noblest objects. Devoted to science from his earliest years, cultivating it in almost all its departments, enriching it in an unusual degree by his personal discoveries, classifying it beyond any previous attempts, and popularizing it by a series of splendid writings, he occupies one of the most conspicuous niches in the Temple of Fame. If he be not the greatest man since the Deluge—a panegyric of royal affection which even the votaries of science will fail to echo—he has more than any other made the ‘Cosmos’ which we inhabit the pedestal of his memory. ‘His mind,’ it has been said, ‘was so admirably balanced, his develop-

ment was so various, and yet so complete in every department of science, that his true greatness is not so apparent as in the case of those who have risen to eminence by devoting themselves to some special study. Perfect symmetry never produces the effect of vastness. It is only by studying the details that we comprehend the character of the whole. Humboldt, however, may be termed the father of physical geography, and the suggester, if not the discoverer, of that system of the distribution of plants and animals which opens to our view another field of that Divine Order manifested in the visible world. He strove to grasp those secrets which, perhaps, no single mind will ever be able to comprehend—the aggregate of the laws which underlie the mysteries of Creation, Growth, and Decay ; and though he fell short of the sublime aim, he was at least able to say, like Kepler when he discovered the mathematical harmonies of the solar system : ‘O Almighty God, I think Thy thoughts after Thee !’

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT was the second son of a major in the Prussian army, and was born on the 14th of September, 1769, the *annus mirabilis* for eminent men. In that year a constellation of celebrities first saw the light : CUVIER, the most eminent naturalist, the first zoologist of modern times, and who left to France the finest osteological collection in the world ; NAPOLEON and WELLINGTON, the great generals of warfare, on whose movements the destinies of empires depended ; CHATEAUBRIAND, the soldier, diplomatist, and *littérateur*, whose chequered fortunes and brilliant writings achieved his fame ; MEHEMET ALI, the Napoleon of the East ; Marshal SOULT, warrior and statesman, whom even his enemies respected ; TURNER, the most distinguished English landscape-painter ; Sir MARTIN ARCHER SHEE, whose brush has preserved to us the faces of so many illustrious men ; Sir JOHN MALCOLM, not the least of Englishmen in India ; and others of less magnitude. Humboldt’s place of birth was Berlin, though his childhood was chiefly spent in the old castle of Tegel, about three leagues to the north-west of the capital, where his father resided. He had a brother William, two years his senior, in whose fellowship he pursued his youthful studies, and who also rose to a high place among philosophers. Nature is prodigal of beauty around the castle, and art had considerably improved the landscape ; so that the first page of the book sowed the desire in Alexander’s mind to see the whole volume. Education had, however, first to come. At that period new methods of instruction were being developed. The study of natural science was claiming a place among the classics and the metaphysics of the schools. Major von Humboldt embraced the idea in the education of his sons, and secured for their tutor Joachim Heinrich Campe, chaplain to the Prince of Prussia’s regiment at Potsdam, one who was abler

abler to teach boys than men. Possessed of a ripe and varied scholarship, which won for him after Klopstock the rank of the second philologist and critic of German style, he added to it a love of nature which made him edit 'Robinson Crusoe,' and write the 'Discovery of America.' Though he only remained at Tegel for a year, and left when Alexander was but seven years old, his influence over the youth was permanent, and his friendship a lasting joy. He was succeeded by Christian Kunth, who bestowed special care upon his pupils, studied their minds, and directed their education in a way most likely to meet their tastes and capabilities. He led the eldest into philology and the other into natural science, while he mingled the studies of both in so skilful a manner as to give each an interest in his brother's favourite pursuits. He cultivated body as well as mind, and often gave his boys a holiday excursion with himself, now on the bosom of the Lake Tegel, now in the woods and fields, or to the fortress of Spandau, in the vicinity, or to the city of Berlin. He thus secured much affection while he did great good. His pupils never forgot him in their future career. To him they trusted their property when they were far from home on voyages of discovery in the New World, or in antiquarian researches among the ruins of classical glory in the Old.

The Major von Humboldt died in 1779, but Kunth continued with the boys, and accompanied them to Berlin, where he superintended their studies. In 1776 they went to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and in 1788 entered the University of Göttingen. There were in that famous seat of learning some eminent professors, whose influence contributed much to mould such minds as Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt. EICHHORN occupied the chair of Theology, HEYNE that of Archæology, and BLUMENBACH was the professor of Physiology and Comparative Anatomy. Under such teachers the youths made rapid progress; but Alexander derived the greatest stimulus from the son-in-law of Heyne, George Forster. He had sailed round the world with Captain Cook, and had written a history of the voyage in which he was naturalist. He began a new era of scientific voyages, 'the aim of which was to arrive at a knowledge of the comparative history and geography of different countries.' To him Humboldt gave this testimony more than fifty years after his death: 'George Forster was the first to depict in pleasing colours the changing stages of vegetation, the relations of climate and of articles of food in their influence on the civilization of mankind, according to differences of original descent and habitation. All that can give truth, individuality, and distinctiveness to the delineation of exotic nature is united in his works.'

The stories of adventure and of scientific pursuit told by
U 2 Forster

Forster aroused anew in Alexander von Humboldt the desire to travel to see the variety of nature in the New World, and he set himself diligently to prepare for the enterprise which his imagination had sketched. While not attending lectures or conversing with Forster, he was in the university museum pursuing researches and making experiments—‘to-day in the laboratory among its vials and crucibles, testing acids and gases, or in the botanic gardens, theorizing over tropical plants and trees ; to-morrow in the anatomical room, surrounded by casts and models ; and many a long night in the observatory unwinding the dances of the stars.’

University life ending in the autumn of 1789, he commenced the study of a science then quite new, which promised to open up many a secret of the past creation—geology. The writings of Werner, the foremost man of mineralogical science of his time, and who ‘raised the art of mining into the science of geology,’ were eagerly perused by Humboldt. His geology was crude, and his theories empirical. He traced all rocks to water, and reasoned for all the world from a few facts seen in his own neighbourhood. But he was the pioneer of the science which is now so famous. Werner being in Freiburg as director of the mining academy, and where he had a cabinet of 100,000 mineral specimens, Humboldt was induced to go there to study the metallurgical sciences. He afterwards undertook a journey with the same object, in company with Forster. Their route lay along the Rhine, through Holland to England. So careful had been the traveller’s eye that he was able to publish in the course of the same year ‘Mineralogical Observations on some Basaltic Formations of the Rhine,’ designed to prove the neptunic origin of the mineral.

Until 1795 he filled the office of general director of mines in the principalities of Bayreuth and Anspach, and added greatly to his scientific acquirements. But desire for travel and for extended research led him to resign. Various circumstances conspired to frustrate his intended journeys ; but he was not easily to surrender his hope. Availing himself of every new scientific discovery, providing all useful instruments, and forming the acquaintance of like-minded friends, he sold his estate and got ready to leave. The European war well-nigh defeated his scientific tours. He wished to go to Italy, but it was then the theatre of Bonaparte’s victories. He determined to go to Upper Egypt, but political events forced him to abstain. The battle of Aboukir lost to the French the free communication to Alexandria. A way to Africa was promised by means of a Swedish frigate, and Humboldt, along with M. Bonpland, a most distinguished young student of science, went to Marseilles to await the arrival of the vessel. Two weary months passed away, when the sad intelligence of the frigate’s injury in a storm led him to abandon his hope. Besides, warlike

warlike disturbances had commenced in Tunis in that epoch of national commotion. After wintering in Spain, and making many scientific observations, Humboldt was presented at court, and received permission to go to the tropical regions of the New World. The long-formed design was practicable at last. It was not without difficulty, however, that our hero and his companion Bonpland could get on board the corvette 'Pizarro,' which was to convey them. The English fleet were blockading the port of Corunna! At length they got their instruments on board, weighed anchor, eluded the cruisers, and were in the open sea.

To a man so full of science as Humboldt, every new hour even on the wide sea brought new scenes and experiences. The voyage was rendered interesting by scientific observation. He studied the electric sparks emitted from the medusæ. The rain of shooting stars which startled his view was anxiously watched and commented upon, and so were the shoals of flying fish. Sea-winds were studied and measured, and sea-weeds suggested many inquiries. The temperature of the atmosphere, its difference on sea and land, and the causes of the difference, were thoughtfully and accurately discussed. The blueness of the sky led him to philosophize upon the changes on the ocean-sky, and he became the first naturalist who made scientific observations on the colours of the sky in equinoctial seas. He watched the rising and setting sun, and used the instrument invented by Saussure for measuring the blueness of the sky and the colour of the sea. The moisture of the atmosphere, the electricity and attraction of the magnetic needle, were also chronicled by the indefatigable student of nature.

On this voyage they sailed by Teneriffe, and the captain of the 'Pizarro' had orders to stay as long as the philosophers wished. Humboldt was particularly desirous to ascend the Peak, and to make observations on its formation which might be useful to the science of his affection. Its peculiar formation, its extinct volcanoes he hoped would answer questions which had long puzzled his mind; and he was not disappointed.

The ascent was a hard toil in the brief period of their sojourn. Nevertheless, Humboldt and Bonpland reached the edge of the crater, and, besides making researches on the ashes of an ancient fire beneath their feet, enjoyed the magnificent prospect which was now spread out before their eye. They were more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. Between them and the shore were five distinct zones of vegetation. The region of *grasses* was nearest to the sugar-loaf; but there were only a few lichens to cover the scoriaceous and lustrous lava, yet a violet rose on the slope, 8,500 feet from the sea. The next zone had tufts of *retama*—a plant loaded with flowers which adorned the valleys hollowed out by the torrents, and diffused their fragrance on the mountain air.

It

It is a species of broom, and grows to the height of nine or ten feet. In the midst of a wide sea of ashes this plant forms beautiful oases, on which the goats which run wild on the Peak may be seen to browse. Next, the zone of *ferns* spread over a breadth of 850 yards, where were beautiful heath, juniper, and vast forests of pines. Below this was the zone of *laurels*, where lofty forests crowned the hills, and springs gushed forth to feed their thirsty roots. Here a rich carpet of moss and grass, covered with ivy and twining shrubs, which climbed up the trees, gave the zone a constant verdure. This was succeeded by the zone of *vines*, which reached to the very shore of the sea, over the breadth of from 430 to 640 yards. Here tropical plants, such as date-palms, plantains, sugar-canæs, mingled with vines and wheat.

The volcano had not been active at the summit for thousands of years, but from the sides rare eruptions have taken place within the last two centuries. There were ample opportunities amongst the *débris* of former ages for geological study; and Humboldt gathered materials which he found of great service to him in his subsequent researches into volcanic influence in the formation of the earth, and the phenomena of earthquakes. Meanwhile the ship 'Pizarro' was under sail, for fear of the English cruisers, and the travellers had to hurry from their elevation.

'Humboldt,' says Professor Klenke, 'had gained important matter for his future discoveries during this short excursion. The group of Canary Islands had become an instructive book of infinitely rich contents, whose diversity in a small space led a mind like Humboldt's to further universal study. He felt the true mission of a naturalist, and the importance of special research. The soil on which we move in joy or sorrow is the most mutable, most active in destruction and reconstruction—a power rules it which arranges and forms the shapeless, which chains the planets to the sun, which gives the living breath of warmth to the cold mass, which forcibly destroys the seemingly complete, which a human being in his narrow sphere considers as a gigantic whole, and replaces it by new forms. **WHAT IS THIS POWER?** **HOW DOES IT CREATE?—HOW DESTROY?** These were the next great questions which forced themselves on Humboldt's mind, and to whose scientific solution he determined to devote his life. "What is a day of creation?" he exclaimed. "Did one revolution of the world round its axis suffice for it, or is it the result of a course of millennium? or did the continent rise out of the water, or did the water sink into the depressions of the earth? Was it the force of fire or of water which raised the mountains, levelled the plains, and placed boundaries to land and sea? What are volcanoes? How did they originate, and how do they act?"

'The volcano of Teneriffe was for Humboldt a key to many great mysteries of universal life; he perceived the various means which nature applies to form and destroy, and he thus made the history of the single one the rule for the history of the universal. The fire of the volcano which he ascended on Teneriffe was long since extinguished, but its traces seemed to Humboldt as the gigantic letters in explanation of the tremendous element which once pervaded our earth, which broke through our earth's crust, which buried men, animals, plants, and towns, and which still propagates its veins in the depths, to shake the earth here or there, or to explode with flame and glowing lava through its safety-valves, the volcanic craters.'

Teneriffe has recently been made the theatre of some very valuable

valuable experiments, of which we have an interesting account in the volume of Professor Piazzi Smyth.

The 'Pizarro' now entered the torrid zone, and the travellers were gratified by the sight of a new firmament. The old stars, which had been bound up with nocturnal visions from infancy, disappeared. Humboldt was never weary of gazing at the beauty and brilliancy of the southern sky. Astronomy had long had attractions for him; and he relates how, when a youth, he was pained with the thought that he would never behold the splendid constellations near the South Pole. But when his eyes first beheld the Southern Cross he experienced the realization of his youthful dreams. This constellation, which is almost perpendicular at the time it passes the meridian, has often enabled travellers to make an observation of time. The new sights impressed Humboldt much.

'Nothing,' he says, 'awakens in the traveller a livelier remembrance of the immense distance by which he is separated from his country than the aspect of an unknown firmament. The grouping of the stars of the first magnitude, some scattered nebulæ, rivalling in splendour the milky way, and traets of spaece remarkable for their extreme blackness, give a peculiar physiognomy to the southern sky. This sight fills with admiration those who, uninstructed in the several branches of physieal science, feel the same emotion of delight in the contemplation of the heavenly vault as in the view of a beautiful landscape or a majestic sight. A traveller needs not to be a botanist to recognize the torrid zone by the mere aspect of its vegetation. Without having acquired any notions of astronomy, without any acquaintance with the celestial charts of Flamsteed and De la Caille, he feels he is not in Europe, when he sees the immense constellation of the Ship, or the phosphorescent clouds of Magellan, arise on the horizon. The heavens and the earth, everything in the equinoctial regions, presents an exotic character.'

When Humboldt arrived at Cumana, the capital of New Andalusia, in South America, he was the Columbus of the New World to science. Its physical geography had been undiscovered, and European *savans* had no means of knowing its features. But our traveller designed to explore the equinoctial regions, and return to Germany to build up a scientific cosmos. During the next five years, he and his indefatigable and learned friend Bonpland travelled over the mountains, rivers, and plains which exist on a scale of grandeur in that region of the world, and which afforded an almost endless variety of objects to their study. They remained for some time at Cumana, making excursions in different directions. Man, no less than plants and rocks, interested their regard. A curious object was presented to their attention in the village of Arenos, where a man lived who had suckled a child with his own milk. Its mother having fallen sick, he took the child, and, in order to quiet it, pressed it to his breast. The irritation of the nipple by the child caused a flow of milk. His breast enlarged, and he actually suckled the child twice or thrice a day for five months, and supplied its only sustenance. Bonpland saw this man, who was

was then absent from the village, afterwards at Cumana, and on examining his breasts found them wrinkled like those of women. His son was then thirteen years of age. This is not the only instance.*

In the course of his travels Humboldt came upon some other great curiosities in natural science. The *zamang* of Guayra, a tree of the species of mimosa, interested him much. At a little distance it appeared a tumulus of vegetation, then a group of very close trees, but on near approach was seen to be a single tree. Its trunk was not more than 64 feet in height and $9\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter; but its top spread out like the spokes of an umbrella, and inclined towards the ground. Its hemispherical top was 614 feet in circumference. On the one side the drought had stripped off all the leaves, but on the other foliage and flowers remained in beauty. Another tree attracted his attention. It is named the *palo de vaca*, or cow tree, which emits a juice that resembles milk, and is used as an article of food. When an incision is made in the trunk a thick, glutinous, milky fluid issues forth. This is Humboldt's description:—

' Amidst the great number of curious phenomena which I have observed in the course of my travels, I confess there are few that have made so powerful an impression on me as the aspect of the cow tree. Whatever relates to milk or to corn inspires an interest which is not merely that of the physical knowledge of things, but is connected with another order of ideas and sentiments. We can scarcely conceive how the human race could exist without farinaceous substances, and without that nourishing juice which the breast of the mother contains, and which is appropriated to the long feebleness of the infant. The *amylaceous* matter of corn, the object of religious veneration among so many nations, ancient and modern, is diffused in the seeds, and deposited in the roots of vegetables; milk, which serves as an aliment, appears to us exclusively the produce of animal organization. Such are the impressions we have received in our earliest infancy: such is also the source of that astonishment created by the aspect of the tree just described. It is not here the solemn shade of forests, the majestic course of

* The lamented and honoured Sir John Franklin, who met with his death while prosecuting the interests of science amidst arctic snows, gives the following case in the narrative of his journey to the Polar Sea:—'A young Chipewyan had separated from the rest of his band for the purpose of trenching beaver, when his wife, who was his sole companion, and in her first pregnancy, was seized with the pains of labour. She died on the third day after she had given birth to a boy. The husband was inconsolable, and vowed in his anguish never to take another woman to wife; but his grief was soon in some degree absorbed in anxiety for the fate of his infant son. To preserve its life he descended to the office of nurse, so degrading in the eyes of a Chipewyan, as partaking of the duties of a woman. He swaddled it in soft moss, fed it with broth made from the flesh of the deer; and, to still its cries, applied it to his breast, praying earnestly to the great Master of Life to assist his endeavours. The force of the powerful passion by which he was actuated produced the same effect in his case as it has done in some others which are recorded; a flow of milk actually took place from his breast. He succeeded in rearing his child, taught him to be a hunter, and when he attained the age of manhood chose him a wife from the tribe. . . . Our informant (Mr. Winkel), one of the Association, added that he had often seen this Indian in his old age, and that his left breast, even then, retained the unusual size it had acquired in his occupation of nurse.'

rivers, the mountains wrapped in eternal snow, that excite our emotion. A few drops of vegetable juice recall to our minds all the powerfulness and fecundity of nature. On the barren flank of a rock grows a tree with coriaceous and dry leaves. Its large woody roots can scarcely penetrate into the stone. For several mouths of the year not a single shower moistens its foliage. Its branches appear dead and dried; but when its trunk is pierced there flows from it a sweet and nourishing milk. It is at the rising of the sun that this vegetable fountain is most abundant. The negroes and natives are then seen hastening from all quarters, furnished with large bowls to receive the milk, which grows yellow, and thickens at its surface. Some empty their bowls under the tree itself, others carry the juice home to their children.'

When upon this subject Humboldt relates many interesting things relative to the milk-producing plants and their place in nature. He made, while in the equinoctial regions, a number of experiments on the juices of these trees. Mungo Park, it will be remembered, found a tree in Africa that yielded butter, and the voyagers to the South Seas have told us of a bread tree which in those tropical climes, where nature is so prodigal of her bounties, favours the indolence of man.

'The aspects of nature,' on which Humboldt was ever so fond to dwell, presented striking contrasts in the districts watered by the Orinoco to anything seen in other parts of the world. He was at a loss to tell whether that chain of stupendous mountains the Andes, or the vast expanse of plain called the Llanos, excited most astonishment. Mountains everywhere present the same general outline; but the extensive Llanos of South America spread out like an ocean, mingling with the sky on every side of their unbroken level. Over these the shadow of a cloud never falls for months. In a space of 360 square miles not a foot of eminence can be distinguished. Few inhabitants reside on these plains, but as in the rainy season they are covered with verdure, immense herds of cattle browse upon them. Humboldt made journeys into these great levels in the interests of science, and when the temperature was at 118° or 122° . The monotony was soothed to the readers of his travels by a comparison of the plains of America with those of other continents; the heaths of Europe; the steppes of Asia; the deserts of Africa; and the prairies or savannahs of North America.

The mountains were a grand attraction. He ascended the highest in the Cordillera of the coast—the Silla of Caraccas, where, from an elevation of 8,633 feet, his eye commanded a great range of country. On the north side he stood upon a perpendicular rock of 6,000 feet. Many observations were made on the path beneath their feet as he and Bonpland went along. Their guides had never made so lofty an ascent, and could think of nothing but their toil: the men of science, on the other hand, were adding to the stores of knowledge by every stage of their o ilsome way. After voyages on the Orinoco, and to Cuba and back,

back, the travellers reached Quito in 1802, from which they commenced their ascent of the highest of the Andes. They climbed up Chimborazo to the height of 19,798 feet, but they were prevented from attempting the remaining 1,439 feet. Their path was stopped by a chasm 400 feet deep by 60 broad. Blood was issuing from their eyes, lips, and gums, on account of the rarefaction of the air. Their heads began to swim and they breathed with difficulty. But they made observations at a height greater than had ever been attempted by man. Boussingault, who ascended this mountain, reached four hundred feet higher than Humboldt in 1833. Humboldt and Bonpland crossed the cordilleras of the Andes five times, examined many mines, of which some were 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, and made experiments with their barometer, thermometer, magnetic and astronomical instruments, and collected specimens of almost all the botanical and mineralogical productions of the countries.

The rivers, too, were followed a considerable way. The Rio Apure was traversed in March 1800, and the Orinoco in April. On this noble river many new phenomena appeared to interest the student of nature. The motion of the water, its temperature, its inhabitants, the scenery of the shore, and the people, all claimed attention. A tradition of the Deluge picked up in that quarter may be recalled. The natives stated that at the time of the Great Waters, when a general deluge happened, 'a man and woman saved themselves upon a high mountain called Tamanacu, situated on the bank of the Aseveru, and that, throwing behind them, over their heads, the fruits of the Mauritia palm, they saw arising from the nuts of these fruits the men and women who repeopled the earth.' It is a most remarkable fact that almost all nations who have any traditions recognize a universal deluge, though they give it a colouring from the circumstances of their own country. 'These ancient traditions of the human race,' says Humboldt, 'which we find dispersed over the surface of the globe, like the fragments of a vast shipwreck, are of the greatest interest in the philosophical study of our species. Like certain families of plants, which, notwithstanding the diversities of climates and the influence of heights, retain the impress of a common type, the traditions respecting the primitive state of the globe present among all nations a resemblance that fills us with astonishment: so many different languages, belonging to branches which appear to have no connection with each other, transmit the same facts to us.' Do not these facts establish the scriptural account of the Deluge that it was universal as man, whatever may be said of its locality?

While on the Orinoco the travellers had an opportunity of seeing the turtle fishery, or 'the Harvest of Eggs,' as it is called. They found 300 Indians of different races encamped on an island

for

for the purpose of gathering the eggs. The produce was enormous. Though Humboldt saw the shore swarming with young turtle, and though many eggs are broken by wild beasts, yet the Missions of Uruana alone gather annually 5,000 jars, each containing 5,000 eggs. It is calculated that each tortoise produces about 100 eggs, and allowing for those broken, it was computed by Humboldt that there could not be fewer than 330,000 turtles, or 33,000,000 of eggs in that one district. These animals assemble in January, when the river is lowest. By the end of March the eggs are laid. In April the Indians assemble and collect the treasures. The eggs are thrown into troughs, broken and stirred, and allowed to remain in the sun till the oily part gathers. It is then skimmed off and boiled, and made into butter.

The voyages on the five great rivers Apure, Orinoco, Alabapo, Rio Negro, and Carriquiare occupied seventy-five days, during which they sailed 375 geographical miles. All this time they had been in an open boat, under a burning sun, exposed to the bites of insects, the attacks of beasts of prey, and supplied with miserable food. They arrived at Angustura in the middle of June, 1800. Both were very much exhausted and feverish, and Bonpland was for some time in danger. But notwithstanding their increasing weakness they had not neglected any opportunity of adding to their stores.

We have already referred to the voyage to Cuba. They landed at Havannah on the 19th December, 1800, and remained till the 9th March making observations. Their course was then to Carthagena, where they pursued their scientific inquiries, and made preparations for their journey to Peru. During thirty-five days they sailed up the Rio Magdalena, botanizing all the way. Disembarking at Honda they proceeded to Santa Fe de Bogota on mules. They abode in this capital from June to September, increasing their botanical and geographical knowledge. The city is 8,727 feet above the level of the sea—higher than the summit of St. Bernard. The cataract of Tenguendama, 574 feet in height, the spray of which is seen at the city 17 miles' distance, presented a most picturesque sight. There are also natural bridges, formed by masses of rock, over ravines of immense profundity, one of them $47\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, 39 in breadth, across a fissure 318 feet above the stream, which leaped from cascade to cascade below. They visited also the lake of Guatavita, situated in a wild and solitary spot on a ridge of the mountains of Zipaquira, 8,500 feet above the level of the sea.

Leaving Santa Fe in September, 1801, the travellers proceeded through a most difficult passage of the Cordilleras to Quito. The road in one part was 11,000 feet high, and narrow, along which the oxen could go with difficulty. They reached Quito in January, 1802. Six months were then devoted to researches of

of various kinds in the surrounding regions. They made the excursions to the lofty Andes referred to, examined the volcanoes, made experiments on the electric, magnetic, and hydraulic properties of air, measured altitudes, and studied almost all the natural phenomena which met their eye. They next set out towards Lima, visited the ruins of the great earthquake of 1797, which had destroyed 40,000 inhabitants, and examined the trees which yield the Peruvian bark, the silver mines of Gualgazoe, 11,603 feet high, and the hot springs of Caxamarca. They then descended the western slope of the Andes, where rain and thunder are unknown, and beheld, for the first time, the waters of the Pacific Ocean. After so much travelling amidst the grandeur of the land, Humboldt pined to behold the sea from the crests of the Andes. He had read when a boy, with all the youthful interest which he took in adventure, of the expedition of Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the first European who beheld from the heights of Quarequa, on the Isthmus of Panama, the eastern front of the Pacific Ocean. Now he realized it for himself and enjoyed it with the rebound of his boyish enthusiasm.

Arrived at Lima, Humboldt and his friend remained several months, and had the good fortune to observe the transit of Mercury across the sun's disc. In January, 1803, they departed for Mexico. While on their way to join the vessel, they heard the terrible artillery of Cotopaxi—from which they were distant one hundred and fifty miles—discharge one of its violent eruptions. They actually began their return to behold the effects of the volcanic motion; but they were hastily recalled by the tidings that the frigate was obliged to sail. There was no resisting when facilities for travel were rare, and they left South America, and landed at Acapulco in March, 1803. There was very much in Mexico to attract Humboldt. Science, history, antiquities, politics, pressed their claims on his regard, and he made himself familiar with them all during the time of his stay, which was prolonged beyond his intention by the interest of his pursuits. He devoted two months to geognostic studies in the mines. He ventured with Bonpland 250 feet into the chief central crater of Jarullo, a burning mountain which had sprung up all in one night in June, 1750, and covered six square miles with flame, and sent up fragments of burning rock to an immense height. Two thousand craters were still smoking when the travellers descended. They were shown the two rivers which were suddenly lost in the burning chasm in 1759. Those streams afterwards burst through the argillaceous vault of the ovens, and presented the appearance of mineral waters in which the thermometer stood at 126°.

In January, 1804, they set out to examine the eastern side of the Cordilleras of Mexico, where they measured the altitude of the volcanoes

volcanoes of Popocatepetl, &c. They ascended the pyramid of Cholula, an extraordinary monument of the Toltecs, built of brick, and from which a magnificent view was obtained. After making full use of their opportunities, and greatly enriching science by their researches, Humboldt and Bonpland embarked for the United States, in which they spent two months. In August, 1804, they returned to Europe in the sixth year of their absence.

Strange events had happened in Europe during this period. Bonaparte had overrun the old empires, and won new battles in the classic land of Italy. In 1799, the year in which they left Europe, he had been made First Consul: in 1800, the battles of Montebello, Marengo, and Hohenlinden had been fought. In 1802, the great captain was regulating the governments of Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. In 1803 he was threatening to invade England. In 1804, when they landed, he was Emperor of the French! But amidst the din of war, the still small voice of science had been heard, and Humboldt, concerning whom there had been reason for anxiety, was waited for by the *savans* of Europe as one of their most illustrious explorers. While Bonaparte had been winning kingdoms by the sword, and writing the memory of his name in blood, Humboldt had been adding new domains of vast extent to the kingdom of science. When he arrived in Paris, therefore, he found himself famous. There was cause for the honour. He and Bonpland had enriched all departments of natural history. They were men of universal tastes, and had gathered stores which were of value to all. The botany, geology, mineralogy, geography, climatology, entomology, ethnology, electricity, galvanism, magnetism, of a new world were in their collections. Their herbarium alone contained more than 6,000 species of plants, and Bonpland's journal contained descriptions of 4,000. As yet, however, these were of value to themselves alone. To deposit their stores in museums was not enough. They had travelled in the interests of universal science, and the world must be made acquainted with their discoveries. This could only be done by books, maps, and engravings. Had they but possessed the wonderful invention of modern science—the art of photography—they might have been enabled to present 'the aspects of nature' in an exact and natural manner. But Humboldt established the science of physical geography which makes so valuable the inventions and instruments of photography.* He had now to set himself down to book-making. Already a great portion of his fortune had been spent in travel; the remaining part was to be wholly consumed in publishing.

* See some interesting and valuable remarks on this subject in Sir David Brewster's splendid and eloquent address at the opening of the University of Edinburgh in November, 1860.

In order to do his work more efficiently, Humboldt obtained the aid of eminent scientific men in various departments. This caused a great delay. Many years elapsed before the public got the benefit of the five years' travel in the torrid zone. From 1805 to 1829, Humboldt was occupied in producing these works. He lived in retirement, and was seen only by the learned and the courtly, when he again emerged as a traveller to the unexplored lands of Central Asia.

In entering upon his literary work, which embraced so large a field, he divided his material into six portions. 'First, the narrative of his journey; then its zoology and anatomy; then its political aspect. These were followed by its astronomy and magnetism, its geology and its botany.' 'Arago and Gay-Lussac were to assist him in chemistry and meteorology; Latrielle and Cuvier in anatomy; Laplace in mathematics; Vauquelin and Klaproth in mineralogy; and Bonpland and Kunth in botany.' The various portions did not appear with any regularity as to time; but were issued at great intervals. The following are the dates of several: In 1805 he published an 'Essay on Botanical Geography'; in 1807 his 'Ideas on a Geography of Plants, and a Picture of the Natural Productions of the Tropics.' 'Equinoctial Plants' were begun in 1808, and were continued to 1816. In 1808 he published his 'Aspects of Nature,' a fascinating book. From 1810 to 1815 he was issuing his 'Political Essay on New Spain'; in 1811 his 'Picturesque Atlas; or, Views of the Cordilleras'; and in 1817 his 'Introduction to Botanical Geography,' and his 'Chart of the Orinoco.' In 1819 he issued, by the aid of Professor Kunth, his work on the 'Family of Mimosa Plants.' In 1820 his '*Révision des Herbes.*' In 1822-25 the 'Synopsis of Botany.' In 1826, he published a political essay on Cuba, and his Geognostic Essay.

The first volume of his travels was published in 1814, the second in 1819. These contain most splendid descriptions, and many most interesting autobiographical notes. They were written in French, and were published in two editions, 3 vols. folio, and in 12 vols. 4to. The works relating to the journey amount to twenty-eight volumes, of which seventeen were in folio and eleven in quarto. No small labour was requisite for this, and an expense of 40,000*l.* To purchase them as they were originally issued would have required 405*l.* In getting them printed, the French and Prussian governments lent assistance, but a very large share was borne by Humboldt himself. Such works are never successful financially; but to diffuse the information, their author was willing to make the sacrifice of his property. He was afterwards provided for by the liberality of the King of Prussia, who in 1818 gave him a pension. But how thorough must have been his devotion to science, and how real his

philanthropy,

philanthropy, when to advance its interest he expended so much time, means, and strength !

After returning from his travels he resided a short time in Paris, where his brother's wife was. He found very congenial society there in the fellowship of the eminent men who pursued science. Gay-Lussac had just been making some experiments in a balloon for the purpose of testing whether the magnetic power experienced any appreciable diminution as the surface of the earth is left. When Saussure was on the Col de Géant, 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, he thought that he perceived a sensible decrease of magnetic power. Gay-Lussac therefore resolved to test the matter. In company with Biot, he made his first ascension on the 24th of August, and he went alone on the 15th of September. He had galvanic apparatus, and a menagerie of frogs, insects, and birds. The philosopher ascended four miles and a quarter, where he still had clouds above him. He suffered much from the cold, and breathed with difficulty ; but he was able to make his experiments from the height of 6,000 feet and upwards. The result was, that he perceived no appreciable change in the magnetic power. Humboldt was deeply interested in these experiments, made at heights greater than he had climbed up Chimborazo. They fully confirmed his own observations.

In the spring of 1805 our philosopher accompanied his sister-in-law to Albano, where his brother resided as ambassador of the court of Prussia at Rome. It was a great joy to the brothers, who were tenderly attached to each other, to meet again. Interested in each other's studies, they always sought to contribute to their personal stores. Alexander brought from the New World as many philological treasures as he could to open up the American dialects to his brother. In Albano, the traveller found a very brilliant society. MADAME DE STAEL lived next door. She was then proscribed from France because of her aversion to Bonaparte. SIMONDI, the eminent historian, then engaged on his 'History of the Italian Republics during the Middle Ages,' was there. AUGUSTUS W. SCHLEGEL, critic, poet, and philologist, who was accompanying Madame de Stael in a tour, was there. He was a special friend of both brothers, and could do much to enrich their social circle. TIEDGE, another poet, was there. There were others also coming and going. In the same year Vesuvius began its activity, and on the 15th August a remarkable eruption took place. Humboldt had with him on this occasion Gay-Lussac and Von Buch, who had come to Italy for the express purpose of seeing the volcano. They ascended the mountain together, and made a course of very important magnetic experiments.

During several of the succeeding years, Humboldt divided his residence between Paris and Berlin, for the purpose of advancing his

his proposed work. It was always his aim to keep apace of the scientific discovery and knowledge of his time, and therefore, in an age where these were so rapidly advancing by means of most eminent men, his publications were delayed. In Paris he had a most agreeable company of friends who formed a society. It was called the Society of Arcueil, from the name of the village where they assembled, about four miles from Paris, and where some of the most distinguished members lived. The *savans* who formed it were BERTHOLLET, the great chemist; LAPLACE, the mathematician, and author of the '*Mécanique Céleste*', which gave a new Principia to mathematics; GAY-LUSSAC, whose discoveries mark an era even in chemistry; THENARD, another chemist of high reputation; DECANDOLLE, a botanist of great celebrity, who attempted a new system of classification; COLLET, DESCOTELS, and MALUS, the last mentioned, the discoverer of the polarization of light—the greatest since the discovery of the achromatic telescope. To these were joined the many-sided Humboldt, who had a sympathy for all their departments, and was possessed of sufficient research in each to enable him to appreciate their science. Most of these were members of the Institute of France. They assembled once a fortnight to give each other the results of their studies. When we consider the eminence of each, the discoveries made by them in science, and the congeniality they had in each other's pursuits, what an attraction must a society of this sort have been to them all! It was especially so to Humboldt, who was both fond of society and capable of giving delight to it. Though they generally met in Berthollet's, yet as Laplace lived very near, they occasionally assembled in his house. 'They could not but profit by the conversations of the old mathematician, for he was profoundly versed in all the sciences; besides, he had seen much of the world, and was full of anecdotes of bygone times and men. He could tell them of D'Alembert, Diderot, and the Encyclopædiasts, the master-spirits of the eighteenth century. If the conversation turned, as was likely, on Descartes or Newton, their portraits hung in his study, as did also those of Euler, and poor old blind Galileo. If they wished to walk, he accompanied them. Arm-in-arm, discussing what was uppermost in their minds, they wandered around the neighbourhood, now in the fields and meadows, or along the banks of the Bierre; and now by the ruins of the aqueduct built by the Emperor Julian, in the olden time, to convey water to his palace in Paris.' The '*Mémoires*' of the Society were published, containing many papers by Humboldt. Arago was also a very intimate friend, though much his junior.

In 1818, Humboldt visited London, in the interest of the King of Prussia. He was also summoned to attend the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the

the King of Prussia, along with Metternich and Nesselrode, Talleyrand, Castlereagh, Wellington, and William von Humboldt. Our philosopher, however, did not discuss the balance of power or the partition of countries. He was planning a journey to Central Asia, and wished royal permission and aid in his scientific labours. He was anxious to begin at once; but though the King of Prussia promised to defray the expenses, and the Emperor of Russia was favourable, yet it was eleven years before the plan could be carried out.

Meanwhile he was busy at his works; and during the period that elapsed before his journey, published seventeen volumes. In 1822, he accompanied the King of Prussia to Italy, and made three ascensions of Vesuvius within ten days. His majesty was anxious that he should settle at Berlin. Various circumstances conspired to favour this; and in 1826 he removed to the Prussian capital, his birthplace and the home of his brother William, to whom and to his wife he was tenderly attached.

On the 3rd November, 1827, he commenced a series of Lectures on the Universe, which concluded, on the 26th April, with the sixty-first lecture. The announcement of his public addresses interested the intellect of Berlin and the neighbourhood. If it had not been common at that period for a baron to lecture, the audience was also most uncommon. The king and the members of the royal family were present. The court sent its highest personages, the university its most learned professors, the city its most cultivated minds, and the country, its sequestered scholars, and the common people pressed to hear the illustrious prophet of nature. Though the audience was select, yet so many wished to enjoy the advantage that he was obliged to go to a larger building, where he had to repeat his earlier lectures. The subjects embraced in this course were of the profoundest interest—physical geography and the history of science; the heavens, the earth, the sea, the atmosphere; the geography of organized matter—of plants, animals, and the races of man. They were in the hand of a master, and received a corresponding treatment. ‘He was clear, eloquent, impassioned, and inexhaustible,’ and his audience was enchanted. Every one felt anxious to possess in a permanent work the new disclosures made to them. They were convinced that by these lectures a key would be given for the interpretation of nature which all disciples of science could use. Of this, however, more anon.

Preparations for the journey into Central Asia were completed in the spring of 1829, and under the sanction and protection, and at the expense of the Russian government, Humboldt set out. He had two companions with him to assist his scientific researches. GUSTAV ROSE undertook the analyses of minerals, and the keeping

of the travelling diary. EHRENBURG, an eminent naturalist, had the botanical and zoological labour. Humboldt himself took the magnetic observations, the results of geographical astronomy, geology, and natural history. He was amply provided with instruments for scientific research: he had abundant means placed in his hands by the Emperor Nicholas, whose government, much to his credit, was ever a liberal patron of science. Ere he left Berlin, Humboldt received a special mark of royal favour in being made a privy councillor, so that on this journey he travelled as 'His Excellency the Baron von Humboldt.'

He went by St. Petersburg to Moscow, thence across the Ural Mountains to Tobolsk, the shores of the Obi to the boundaries of Chinese Tartary: he then passed on to the Caspian Sea, reaching Berlin on the 28th December. He had been absent eight months and a half, and had travelled 2,500 geographical miles on land. The works which were issued in connection with this journey evidence its character. He contrasted the volcanoes of Central Asia with those he had seen in Europe and America, and placed science on a new footing with regard to the theory of volcanoes. He corrected a great many wrong ideas regarding the geography of the countries over which he travelled; he shed new light on climatic knowledge which had mistaken views of the causes of cold towards the East; he solved the riddle how remains of animals, whose organization belonged to a hot climate, such as the mammoth, had been found among the ice-blocks of the north; he established stations for taking meteorological and magnetic observations; he made important discoveries regarding the mean altitude of the Asiatic table-lands, and on the depression of the Caspian Sea. In the books which he published he appended treatises on cognate subjects by some eminent scientific men acquainted with the several branches. Much time and care were necessary for these great works, which have done so much to diffuse correct information on the physical geography of the earth.

After his brother's death, in 1835, he felt very isolated, but in 1836-39 he published 'A Critical Examination of the History of the Geography of the New Continent, and of the Progress of Nautical Astronomy in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.' It was contained in five volumes, and is divided into four parts. 'The first discusses the causes which prepared and led to the discovery of the New World: the second relates to Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and the dates of several important geographical discoveries: in the third he treats of the early maps of the New World, and of the time when the name of America was first commonly used: the fourth is a history of nautical astronomy and of map-making in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.'

There

There was another work which he was anxious to prepare, and which had occupied his thoughts for half a century, one which required all the researches he had made fully to elucidate. Into whatever department of science he had inquired, he had a reference in his mind to the future use of it in this work, which, should he live to produce it, he designed to be his legacy to his fatherland. We read with great interest of labours continued in so many, many fields, and throughout so long a period as fifty years, in order to give the world the benefit of the acquired riches of wisdom, philosophy, and science, when the possessor was about to pass away. It is with the deepest respect that we look upon the Baron BUNSEN, who was the greatest celebrity of Germany since the death of Humboldt, so long the Prussian ambassador at St. James', when he tells us, in the first part of his 'Bibelwerk,' that he contemplated leaving behind him the fruit of a lifetime's study of sacred criticism. In the year 1805, he read at school the book of Genesis in Hebrew and the Gospels in Greek. In 1807 he had perused the Syriac New Testament. At the university he studied Exegesis under Arnoldi and Hartmann. In Paris he acquired Persian and Arabic. During twenty-two years' diplomatic service in the city of Rome he carried on studies in sacred criticism. In London, where he resided fifteen years, he pursued his inquiries amidst all the engagements of European politics, and the publication of works on Egypt, and his Hippolytus. From 1836 to 1857 he had the work regularly in hand, and in 1858 he gave the first volume of a work on the Bible, designed to be the *magnum opus* of a long lifetime, but now, alas! by his death only a fragment.

Humboldt had such a view before him in relation to nature as Bunsen had for revelation. There was in the mind of each the idea of unity to which all their learning could be brought. Humboldt desired to comprehend all matter in the connection of its parts as an entire unity moved and impregnated by inner powers. He desired to explain the complicated facts in existence by the great laws of the unity of nature. His Lectures on the Universe broached the idea, and on the basis of these he constructed his work, to which he gave the appropriate name of 'Cosmos.' He sought to exhibit to the view of intelligence the entire universe, of which our own world is the grand platform and key. He unfolded it 'as a scientific, strictly objective, but at the same time truly animated picture of infinite variety and sublimest unity, of constant motion, and of the immutable repose of eternal laws. He first brings us to the right point of view for the contemplation of this great picture, by explaining the variety of its pleasures; he facilitates the comprehension of natural laws by his experience, and then unveils the great picture in perspective, commencing with the most distant nebulae and revolving stars, and pro-

ceeding gradually to the earth, its geography, its plants, its animals, and its human inhabitants. Herein he shows the intimate connection of general truths and special developments, with that geniality of scientific treatment in the choice of matter, and in the force and style of composition which is so peculiarly his own; and then follow the incentives to natural studies, among which he enumerates, especially, lively descriptions of natural scenery, landscape painting, intercourse with plants, and their taste-elevating cultivation in conservatories.

This work extended to five volumes over the years from 1845 to 1858, and is a magnificent collection of philosophy respecting the universe, clothed in beautiful language, and wonderfully adapted to the general intelligence of thoughtful minds of every class. The total number of works issued by Humboldt amounts to seventy-four volumes, of which twenty-two were in folio, eighteen in quarto. The first was issued in 1790, and the last in 1858, an authorship of sixty years.

During his last years he dined almost daily with the King of Prussia, and spent the evening at the palace. After his return home, about eleven o'clock, he wrote at his 'Cosmos' until one or two. He gave little time to sleep: he rose at six in winter and at five in summer: he studied for two hours before breakfast, after which he answered his letters, which, it is said, amounted annually to more than 100,000.* From twelve to two he received visits; from two to four he was in his study. He then went to dine with the king, and spent the evening in company with the courtly or the scientific. Four hours sufficed for his sleep; yet for two-thirds of a century he devoted himself unremittingly to study and to fathom the great secrets of the universe. At the age of ninety he was still able to pursue his beloved researches, to enjoy the conversation of the scientific and the friendly. He lingered long behind the men with whom he began life: he remained, embodying in his own experience the advancement of many sciences from their birth to their great and glorious manhood.

He was thoroughly devoted to science, and in its interest put aside the enjoyment of the ease which his fortune offered him, and sacrificed that fortune to prosecute his inquiry. He refused the political advantages with which he was tempted that he might dedicate his time to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge. Though made the companion of kings, he took to his embrace the humblest disciple of science, and evinced sympathy with the most liberal sentiments of the people. When Agassiz, whose name

* One is inclined to doubt this, but it is gravely asserted in the American biography, with the statement, 'I have heard this number doubled, but dislike to seem to exaggerate.'

stands now so high in natural science was a student, and was about to relinquish his studies for want of means, Humboldt happened to meet him in Paris, observed his depression, and asked its cause. Next morning his servant bore a note to the student, which contained these words : ‘ My friend, I hear that you are leaving Paris in consequence of some embarrassments : that shall not be. I wish you to remain here as long as the object for which you came is not accomplished. I enclose you a cheque for 50*l.* : it is a loan which you may repay when you can.’ By Humboldt’s liberality in 1833, Agassiz was enabled to begin the publication of his great work on Fossil Fishes.

On his eighty-ninth birthday his last volume of ‘ *Cosmos* ’ was published ; but as his friends met around his table he hinted that he did not expect to meet them again. He lived through the winter and even the spring, but took to his bed on the 3rd May, 1859, and continued to sink. On the 6th, after two o’clock, the blinds of his chamber were opened, and the full blaze of the sun shone upon his face. ‘ How grand those rays,’ he murmured ; ‘ they seem to beckon earth to heaven.’ At half-past two his sun, which had shone for ninety years, sank in this sphere which he did so much to illuminate.

The 10th of May was his funeral. The houses in the Orianburger-strasse were hung with crape and decorated with black flags. The mourners crowded by Frederick-strasse and Unter den Linden. Friends, citizens, students, divines, philosophers, court, and king (represented by the prince regent), were in the funeral train. Carriages half a mile in length followed the bier. They laid him in the Dom Church, and the king lifted up his voice and wept, and all the people wept. Dr. Hoffmann, chaplain to the king, gave the address, as he had been requested by the deceased. ‘ The organ began to peal ; the congregation sang, “ Jesus, my trust.” “ Blessed are the dead,” said the priest, “ who die in the Lord.” “ Yea, saith the Spirit,” the choir answered, “ for they rest from their labours. Halleluia.” A prayer was then said. Then the grand old chorals, “ Be comforted and most happy,” and “ Christ is my life,” were sung, and the ceremony was over. The procession departed as it came, with pattering feet and melancholy music. The church was soon deserted, but the dead remained, in the oaken coffin under the solemn dome, alone with God.’

The body was at night removed to Tegel, beside ancestral dust.

‘ Humboldt,’ says Principal Forbes, in his learned Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science, prefixed to the eighth edition of the ‘ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ’—‘ Humboldt has contributed more to physical geography than any other man now living, and that not only by his individual efforts, but by

by the direction and encouragement which he has given to innumerable travellers and naturalists. His career seems to have been more closely modelled upon that of De Saussure than of any other of his contemporaries or predecessors. Those branches of physical geography which admit of numerical treatment seem most congenial to him ; and he has left more of the impress of his personal influence upon the sciences of meteorology and magnetism than upon any others which he cultivated. His conception of *isothermal lines*, and his treatment of the subject of climatology, in his remarkable paper of 1817, gave a new impulse to the former subject.'

Physical geography is one of the most interesting and diversified objects of study. It presents to the mind the phenomena of earth, sea, and sky—scenes at once grand and beautiful ; and forms of life of wondrous mechanism and adaptation to their position and purpose. It conducts us over the *inorganic* world—the *mountains* in their lofty ranges or insulated peaks, or volcanic craters ; the *plains* in their varied aspects in different continents ; the *ocean*—three-fourths of the globe in its three great basins, Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian, with manifold smaller seas, and presenting so many interesting subjects of inquiry relative to depths, temperature, and motion ; the *rivers*, the great arteries of countries for fertility and trade ; and the *atmosphere* and its different winds, its effect on climate and on life. It introduces to us *organic* life, vegetable and animal, as it is distributed over the whole surface of the globe, in the waters of the deep, and in the air. Nor are these the only branches of this great science. The influences which the natural features, climate, and produce of countries have exercised over the inhabitants in their industry, habits, and even government are disclosed by the study of physical geography. It opens up to our view many most interesting aspects of the all-wise and beneficent providence of God, and shows how the earth was made the furnished apartments in which man, as its highest and ultimate inhabitant, was to dwell—all prepared and fashioned by the great Father of all for the comfort of his human children. To this study Alexander von Humboldt has introduced us by his tracts and books ; and the legacy and the lesson of his long career are the 'Cosmos,' which spreads before us the wonders of the universe. The pages of his work are the keys for opening nature, and the reader of the philosopher's words will go forth to gaze at the great world-book with more intelligent eye, and with a more devout heart, ready to say, with the quaint poet—

‘For us the winds do blow,
The earth doth rest, heaven move, and fountains flow ;
Nothing we see but means our good,
As our *delight* or as our *treasure*.
The whole is, either our cupboard of *food*
Or cabinet of *pleasure*.’

‘The stars have us to bed ;
Night draws the curtain which the sun withdraws ;
Music and light attend our head ;
All things unto our *flesh* are kind
In their *descent* and *being* ; to our *mind*
In their *ascent* and *cause*.

‘Each thing is full of duty :
Waters united are our navigation ;
Distinguished, our habitation ;
Below, our drink ; above, our meat ;
Both are our cleanliness. Hath one such beauty ?
Then how are all things neat !

‘More servants wait on man
Than he’ll take notice of : in every path
He treads down that which doth befriend him
When sickness makes him pale and wan.
Oh, mighty love ! Man is one world, and hath
Another to attend him.’

HERBERT.

ART. II.—*Co-operative Societies.* An Essay by Dr. John Watts.
Read at the Social Science Conference, Glasgow.

ONE of the most interesting contributions to the last meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science was the one whose title stands at the head of this article. Interesting, because it introduces us to a new phase of industrial life, and exhibits as ‘a great fact’ and a great success one of a class of experiments which have hitherto been generally treated either with pity or contempt, according to the disposition of the observer. The science of production has progressed marvellously amongst us: sixty or seventy years have sufficed to replace the spinning-wheel, twisting one thread at a time, by the double-decked self-acting mule, spinning a thousand threads and upwards; looms work five or six times as rapidly as formerly, and a single individual tends four instead of one; the bleacher does the work in a day which formerly would have occupied him for weeks; the sempstress sits down to her machine, and instead of occupying a day at making a child’s frock, she back-stitches a hundred yards of cloth in the same time. But whilst all this economy has obtained in the production of wealth, its distribution is as costly as ever. Everything passes from the manufacturer through the wholesale and the retail dealer before it reaches the working-man consumer. Immense sums are spent in the building and decoration of warehouses and sale shops, vast quantities of goods are spoiled by shop-window exposure, and vast numbers of men and women make their own useless work in dressing and undressing windows, folding, unfolding, and refolding goods, or they remain idle behind counters for the greater part of their lives. Walk through the principal streets of London, and observe the shop windows; they constitute the largest and richest exhibition

exhibition of industrial and artistic products in the world ; and the panorama not only changes in character with the change of locality, but even in the same shop the articles are exchanged every few days until the whole stock has been exhibited. In the larger shops a certain measure of economy is necessitated by the great expense at which the 'establishment' is kept up, and a wet day turns hundreds of drapers' assistants into the streets ; but this economy does not much improve the body politic, since the persons dismissed are not productively employed. But turn now into the side streets, and look into the places where the proprietors manage each his own business with the aid of one or two assistants, where a single sale per day upon the average will furnish the ten or fifteen pounds which constitute the weekly receipts ; and remember that of this class are the great bulk of the miles of shops which throng our great cities ; and then try to calculate the proportion of the receipts which will be necessary to maintain the concern, the whole or nearly the whole of which per centage is an unnecessary deduction from the stock handed over to the consumer. In articles of food this deduction is not less than from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent., and in textile fabrics it is from 15 to 20 per cent., whilst in articles for ornament it often rises to 50 per cent. What wonder if, when people realize the losses thus sustained, they should seek to avoid them by any and every feasible means !

We must all pay national and local taxation for the protection of life and property, for sanitary measures, and for the relief of the destitute ; and in these taxes there is at least an attempt at fairness by levying upon each individual in proportion to his rental : we say an attempt at fairness, for since cottage property gives a far larger return for capital than is derived from any other class of houses, it necessarily follows that the poor man is overtaxed. A man's rental is always a very imperfect measure of his wealth ; for a city workman earning fifty pounds per annum can scarcely pay less than six pounds per annum rent, but will the man who gets ten thousand pounds pay twelve hundred per annum for his house ? And a shopkeeper, in order to realize a hundred pounds per annum, must pay as much in rent and taxes as the man who gets a thousand pounds per annum from realized property. Thus, for protection from violence, for shelter, for food and clothing, for all the necessaries and conveniences of life, the poor man is overcharged as compared with his richer neighbour ; and the poor man is not only overcharged in the taxes levied directly upon himself, but he also pays indirectly, in the increased cost of commodities, the overcharge upon the shopkeeper also. If it be urged that labour is created by the subdivision of articles into minute quantities to suit the working man's convenience, and that the army of retailers are his servants, ready to do his bidding, and must be paid for their work ; we reply that if they be his

his servants, it is only in the sense that the officials of the Court of Bankruptcy are the servants of the creditors ; and there is no objection to pay for necessary work, but that there is great objection to pay for useless or injurious work, or for officious idleness in the shop or in the court at the cost of one-third of the estate.

And the deduction for the profit of the shopkeeper is not the worst feature of the case against the retail salesman. The anxiety of each new shopkeeper to accumulate wealth has led to a spurious cheapness achieved by adulterations of every possible kind, until health is sacrificed, and usefulness destroyed, by the ceaseless efforts to make things seem to be something which they are not.

Old woollen cloth is torn up into fibres by a machine called 'the devil,' re-spun with a small proportion of new wool, woven and dressed and passed again into the market as new cloth ; fustians are scratched (perched) on the back, thus partially destroying the fibre before they get into wear, in order to make them appear to be full of cotton ; they are woven twenty-four inches wide, put into a steam-box, and stretched upon a moving frame to twenty-seven inches ; the interstices being filled with starch, with silicate of soda, or with bone dust, to make them pass for rich and heavy goods ; and the deception lasts until they get into wear, when if the workman chances to get his trousers wet, he will find it difficult to get them off his legs, so greatly will they shrink in dimensions. Calico prints are similarly filled and stretched, so that not until the washerwoman has performed her office upon them can their real quality be ascertained. Wooden bobbins thinly wrapped with sewing cotton are sold for cotton, and trade marks and the names of celebrated firms are forged, until the name of a maker of genuine articles is no longer a protection to the purchaser. Sixteen ounces of raw silk is sent to be dyed black, and comes home again weighted with logwood and gum to such an extent that it weighs thirty, forty, fifty, or even sixty ounces. Of this stuff are the dull-looking heavy black ribbons for trimmings, and the broad silks for dresses made. In articles of food the adulteration is not less : wheaten flour is let down with lime and alum, oatmeal with peameal, butter with lard, and is filled with water ; coffee is adulterated with chicory, tea is painted with verdigris or black lead ; mustard is adulterated with flour and pepper ; anchovies are coloured with red lead, sugar is mixed with sand ; tobacco is made of plantain leaves, fine hay, and treacle ; and the wine and spirit trade has called into existence a new industry followed by men whose common designation is 'adulterator ;' and so throughout, until we feel inclined to believe not only that language was given to man to enable him to hide his thoughts, but that the ingenuity which has sought out many inventions was given to enable men to cheat each other. But every evil by its effect upon human nature brings

brings about its own remedy ; and the growth of this trading disease has brought into existence two curative operations. The legislature on behalf of society has pronounced the adulteration of food and drink to be criminal, and the forgery of trade names and marks is equally punishable at law : whilst, on the other hand, various have been the attempts by working men to render the shop-keeper the real servant of the public, instead of a trader on his own account ; and to give him occupation for his whole time instead of keeping him in forced idleness.

Probably the earliest attempt in this country was made in London, under the patronage of the late Robert Owen, about the year 1820. This was called 'The Labour Exchange.' It was intended to be a store of all articles of necessity and utility, where every artisan might come laden with the work of his own hands, and exchange it for the produce of any other or any number of workmen representing the same number of hours' labour. Metallic currency was to be superseded by exchange or labour notes, representing the values of the goods deposited, and exchangeable for the same value of any other goods in store. We are not acquainted with the definite cause or causes of failure, but can readily see many reasons why such an experiment must needs have failed. Some trades and professions require a much larger outlay for education than others, and a skilled artisan is not likely to be willing to give an hour of strength and skill in exchange for an hour's strength only ; nor will a learned professor exchange the produce of an hour's learning for an hour's product of ignorance ; and it would be very difficult to make a sliding-scale of learning or of skill, and to so assess the value of each as to satisfy all the contributors. The Labour Exchange failed, and competition had its own way for some years, except so far as it was hindered by taxes on commodities and other government restrictions. About 1836-7, Mr. Owen became again prominent in this country by teaching communism ; and branches of his society of 'Rational Religionists' were formed in most of our large towns ; and in connection with some of these branches, co-operative stores for the sale of articles of grocery and drapery were established from time to time. But experience, that best of teachers, had not yet done her work. In some cases managers were appointed, who had no sufficient knowledge either of goods or of accounts, and the result is not difficult to guess ; in others, men were appointed who had failed in trade for themselves, and who repeated their experience for these societies ; in others, again, the moral power was not strong enough to resist temptation, and the store would some morning be found vacant, except for the accounts which required liquidation. In most of them the desire to do a large business led to the fatal error of giving credit, which brought with it the necessity of getting credit, and its usual concomitant

concomitant of having to pay higher prices for worse material. The trade books were filled with small debts, the ready-money customers were lost by the depreciated quality of the goods, and thus was dissipated the small subscribed capital of many a co-operative concern. Still, many of the managers of the stores gleaned experience enough in the work to enable them to become successful shopkeepers on their own account—a very clear indication of the true causes of failure. In 1843-4 came the failure of the Owenite community in Hampshire ; attributable, amongst other causes, first to the extravagant price paid for very poor land ; second, to the large amount of capital sunk in buildings which could not be profitably occupied ; and, thirdly, to the attempt to convert skilled artisans, used to good wages, into agriculturists upon bad land ; and to satisfy them with agricultural labourers' fare, and no money wages. It is beyond our present sphere to inquire to whom these errors were attributable ; but it is certain that this failure blighted the hopes of all upholders of the doctrine, that 'men ought to work in accordance with their abilities, and to be paid according to their necessities ;' in other words that all property ought to be common. But this failure, although it returned hundreds of disappointed men to their former homes, and cast much ridicule upon the disciples of communism, did not prevent frequent attempts at co-operative stores ; on the contrary, it seemed to fix attention upon them as illustrating the amount of practicability included in the teachings of Mr. Owen. The failure of the O'Connor land scheme added to the number who returned to the practicable, and many stores have originated amongst men who formerly looked to the five points of 'The Charter' as the panacea for all evils. Dr. Watts tells an anecdote admirably illustrative of this point. He says : 'We once called with the inventor of a new kind of watch upon an eminent maker in London, who, after examining the watch, and listening to the inventor's description of his improvement, asked—Would it go properly if fixed to a coach-wheel spoke, and driven round the city ; and if it will stand that test, can you take this watch (an ordinary English lever), and without sacrificing its general arrangement, insert your improvement ? If you can, I'll try to deal with you, but if not, your improvement is of no use to me. And so it is in society. Any improvement to be practicable, and to get adopted, must be able to stand against the roughest possible usage, and must fit in with existing machinery.'

The co-operative stores have had their share of rough usage ; have struggled through failure, through contempt, through interested opposition, into success and respect ; and with careful management they promise well for the future. The Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society dates from 1844. 'In June, 1844,' says one of the most active members of the Rochdale Society, 'it was believed that

that no member could or would subscribe more than twopence per week per share; and when one offered to lay down 2s. 6d., and another 5s., the offers caused great surprise, and some consternation was evident when an enthusiastic member offered to venture 20s. There are now seven other stores in Rochdale than those described by Mr. Chambers, in "Chambers' Journal" of November 12, 1859, and, reckoning the shops taken for the sale of flesh meat, for drapery, tailoring, shoemaking, clogging, &c., there are sixteen separate establishments all connected with this one society. The number of members in June, 1860, was 3,100, and according to the quarterly statement then issued, the amount of business for this year will be 140,000*l.*, and the probable gains, after paying all expenses, will be 14,500*l.* "The Rochdale District Corn Mill Society" was commenced in 1850, principally by the members of the original co-operative society. The first year or two involved them in a loss of 421*l.*; but, taking the quarter ending in June last as an average quarter, the business of the present year will amount to 120,000*l.*, and the gains to 10,000*l.* In the quarter ending in June last, the profits divided in the stores was 2s. 5d. in the pound, and in the flour mill 1s. 6d. in the pound on purchases, after paying interest on capital. The library at the store is now increased to 5,000 volumes, and about 200 newspapers and periodicals are taken weekly in the reading-room. 'The cost is about 400*l.* per annum.' This store therefore not only economises the labour of the shopkeeper in nearly all the necessaries of life, but it is also an educational institution, where the members may obtain the political and scientific knowledge to fit them for the duties of citizens, and to make them better workmen; they may also get literature fit to occupy the leisure of the tired artisan, and to give his children a taste for the pursuit of knowledge. To this department is devoted, by the rules of the society, two and a half per cent. of the nett profits of the stores. Persons who have no acquaintance with the practical working of these societies, and who think they understand the science of political economy, tell us that shopkeepers by competition will be certain to supply articles at the cheapest possible rate, for the sake of their own self-interest. We reply that this might be so if consumers all understood the qualities of the articles which they purchase and their wholesale cost, and if we had no more shopkeepers than the demands of the public would keep at full work; but experience proves that shopkeepers will increase so long as it is possible, by mere distribution of wealth, to make more than artisans' wages; and that adulterations of all kinds will be resorted to for assistance in this process. Political economy is the science of wealth; it teaches how and where to invest labour so as to secure the largest produce. Now as that sublime mixture of genius and madness

madness, John Ruskin, says, there is no gain to the body politic in exchanges, the labours of the wholesale and retail dealers are in reality additions to the cost of producing an article, therefore the narrower the compass into which we can confine such labour, the less will be the cost of the article to the consumer. There is only one way by which society at large can gain, and that is by increasing our knowledge of the earth and its capabilities, and by perfecting our machinery for extracting all we can out of it. All which we win from the earth is positive gain; all exchanges made necessary by different climates, or by the subdivisions of labour, are conveniences merely, for what one man gains another loses. The more direct such exchanges can be made, therefore, between the producer and consumer, the more time and strength will remain for further production.

But the best test of economy is the practical working of the Rochdale stores:—‘In the grocery department the total cost of wages and management does not exceed $2\frac{3}{4}d.$ in the pound, and if the tailoring, shoemaking, and clogging departments be included, the average cost of management for the whole is less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The society has also given donations to the dispensary, the deaf and dumb and blind asylums, and to the Manchester Infirmary, and has presented a handsome drinking fountain to the borough of Rochdale.’ Where is the individual establishment, however large, where the partnership concern which does business at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.? It is doubtful if any, except the very largest shipping houses, where a single sale will often amount to a thousand pounds, can parallel the economy of this retail establishment, where the shopman must be continually ready to serve a quarter of an ounce of tea, a quarter of a pound of sugar, or a halfpenny candle!

The early history of these co-operative efforts is always instructive and often very amusing. It shows us the good and the evil sides of the working man, his persistency at all hazards in what he considers right, along with the ignorance, the stupidity, and the selfishness which have to be overcome, which sadly try the patience of the honest managers, and which even drive some well-intentioned men into dishonesty. Give a dog a bad name, or call an honest man a thief, and you know what result to look for. If the concern does not progress satisfactorily the managers are often accused in plain terms of serving their own interest at the expense of the society; and it is only after years of continuous labour and self-sacrifice, whose only reward is abuse, that the few heroic leaders can get credit for the philanthropic feeling which alone has enabled them to struggle forward to success and prosperity.

A Rochdale manager lately gave us an account of one of their early meetings, which was so stormy as to remind one of a contested

tested parliamentary election before the passage of the Reform Bill. So exciting was the meeting that the forms were upset by a rush to the platform in order to upset the leaders, and personal violence was with great difficulty prevented, by the exertions of a strong body-guard. But happily it is not every ship which has to make its way through such breakers into port.

Here is an account of a store which seems to have worked its way from small things without much trouble except the want of capital. The Rawtenstall Industrial Society was commenced in 1850 by six working men. They managed to save a few shillings each, and bought one load of meal or flour. They then rented a cottage as a store at 1s. 3d. per week, and met every evening to dispose of their goods. At the end of the first quarter they divided 1s. 6d. in the pound on purchases, after paying 5 per cent. on capital. They were soon obliged to take larger premises. They now own the building used as a store, and have a paid-up capital of 3,000*l.*, and number 387 members; their business amounts to about 310*l.* weekly, and they generally divide about 2s. in the pound quarterly on purchases. A purchaser who is too poor to pay for a share is allowed to rank for profits on his purchases until the price of a share is realized.

Most of these societies sell to the public as well as to their own members, and being established in the midst of shopkeepers large and small, they must, as a matter of course, sell at average prices, for otherwise even their own members would soon fall away. If they to any considerable extent fulfil their professions by avoiding adulterations, and manage, after paying 5 per cent. on capital, to divide from 7½ to 10 per cent. on purchases, we need no other argument to prove either their great economy or their moral tendency, for there is great truth in the remark of an old manufacturer, that bodies may live on much less wages than souls can be kept for.

There are now in existence at least two hundred co-operative stores, and they are rapidly increasing in every direction; so it is probable that the number of mere distributors of wealth will be decreased, and many persons, whose capital and time are now absorbed in simply storing goods, and handing articles over from the wholesale dealer to the consumer will be at liberty to use their capital and skill in the production of wealth, causing an increased demand for useful labour, and by increasing produce they will also increase the comforts of society at large.

Being enrolled under the Friendly Societies' Act, these associations enjoy the following advantages:—The rules of a society are binding, and may be legally enforced; protection is given to the members, their wives, children, and heirs, in enforcing their just claims, and against any fraudulent dissolution of the society; the

the property of the society is declared to be vested in the trustee or treasurer for the time being ; the trustee or treasurer may sue or be sued in his own name ; fraud committed, with respect to the property of the society, is punishable by justices ; county courts may, where the rules so provide, compel transfer of stock ; if any officer abscond, or refuse to transfer, application may be made to the Court of Chancery by petition, free from payment of court or counsel's fees ; disputes are to be settled by reference to justices or arbitrators, whose orders are to be final, with power to award compensation to any member if unjustly expelled.

Coming into existence at various times and under various circumstances, although all enrolled under the Friendly Societies' Act, these societies differ somewhat in their constitutions and modes of operation. Some of them hold inflexibly, like the Rochdale model, to cash payments, whilst others give credit to members to the extent of one-half, two-thirds, or three-fourths of the paid-up capital of the debtor. They vary also in the amount which constitutes a share, and in the number of shares required or allowed to be held by each member. Some share their profits with non-members who desire to become members, whilst others require a payment on account of shares prior to any participation. In all, candidates for membership have to submit to their chance of election, and in all, the thorough democratic principle of one vote to each member obtains, no matter what the amount of his investment. In none whose rules we have seen are shares transferable, but they all have rules to allow withdrawal of shares. In cases of dispute, the first appeal is universally to the directors, the second is in some cases to arbitration, whilst others give an option of appeal to arbitrators or to justices of the peace. In every case of division of profits, capital takes the first 5 per cent. after allowing for depreciation of stock ; then in some cases a proportion is set aside to increase capital, and the remainder is divided according to purchases, whilst in others the whole is divided after the shares are once paid up, and the members are left to increase their shares within the prescribed limit or not, as they please. But in no case which has come under our observation, except in the original one at Rochdale, is there in the constitution of the society any educational provision, and personal inquiry informs us that this is because the Registrar refuses to allow it. We are told that the managers of one of the Manchester stores had no less than four months' correspondence on the subject ; and the result of the refusal is the necessity for a quarterly vote for the reading-room, which necessity leads to a false economy, in order to avoid a quarterly quarrel, which, after all, is not always averted. If it be true that the appropriation of a small sum for educational purposes, by the constitution of the society, be contrary to Act of Parliament, it is quite

quite time for that Act to be amended ; and if the Registrar's present reading of the law be wrong, it would be well to force him by a mandamus to register such a provision ; for assuredly no institution is likely to be more serviceable in secondary education than the libraries and reading-rooms (to be followed, possibly, by classes) in connection with these co-operative associations.

The practical result of these establishments appears, therefore, to be to enable the members to secure unadulterated food at the prices generally charged for the adulterated, and to give also from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent. discount ; in other words, they put the poorest man upon a par with the richest, so far as their purchases of food and clothing are concerned : they do for the articles of the workman's daily consumption what Freehold Land and Building Societies have done for land and houses—they sell by retail at wholesale prices ; but they do also more than this, by offering 5 per cent. interest on 1*l.* and upwards in the shape of shares, and giving a voice in the management of the concern, they stimulate to prudential investments, and they educate in self-government the most important as well as most numerous class of society.

The following table of the results of co-operative societies is extracted from an Essay by Mr. Malcolm Ross, published in 'The Bradford Review,' Nov. 3rd, 1860.

Name of Society.	Age and Date of Report.		Receipts for quarter or half-year.	Members' deposits, &c.	Profits realized	Dividend declared.	Present Capital.
Rochdale Equitable Pioneers	1860.		£ 37,816	£ 1,996	£ 4,341	2 7	30,183
District Corn Mill	63rd Quarter, Sept. 18th						
Bacup Co-operative	39th	,,	22nd	37,109	1,156	2,243	1 4
York Industrial	53rd	,,	17th	15,500	766	2,147	2 10
Eccles Provident Industrial	6th	,,	23rd	784	65	53	1 6
Manchester and Salford Equitable	14th	,,	24th	2,139	96	180	2 0
Oldham Industrial	4th	,,	June 25th	3,459	534	183	1 8
Bury Provision	39th	,,	25th	10,230	724	899	1 8
Queenshead Industrial	17th	,,	30th	11,062	874	1,026	2 0
Hindley Friendly	8th	Half-yearly	26th	6,598	948	440	1 3
Liverpool Provident	9th	Quarter	18th	2,104	277	92	1 0
Equitable	4th	Half-yearly	24th	6,389	848	424	1 7
Bristol Industrial and Provident	4th	,,	30th	2,132	651	158	1 6
Plymouth Mutual	2nd	Quarter	19th	474	55	22	1 0
Sunderland Equitable Industrial	2nd	,,	26th	145	17	13	1 1
Stockport Industrial and Equitable	1st	,,	19th	930	236	22	1 3
National Industrial and Provident	1st	,,	30th	548	468	53	1 4
		,,	29th	1,179	849	17	1 0
							855

The economy achieved in the distribution of wealth by these societies seems to have led, gradually and naturally, to attempts to economize its production also. The Rochdale people having secured the

the prosperity of their stores, determined to sell and eat only pure bread, and with this object in view they engaged a corn-mill ; for although another society was constituted for the purpose, and other managers appointed, they were practically the same persons in both.

And during the last two years of good trade another step forward has been taken, and co-operative, or rather joint-stock weaving-sheds and spinning-factories have sprung into existence in considerable numbers in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Working men have commenced in earnest to take advantage of the means by which nearly all our great works have been accomplished. Banks, canals, railways, &c., have long found profitable employment for the surplus capital of rich men, whilst the only chance for the prudent working man has been the savings bank, which is not always safe, gives only low interest, and is hedged about with difficulties to prevent withdrawals. Co-operative stores and joint-stock manufactories open up another field, and working men are not slow to take advantage of it. Alex. Redgrave, Inspector of Factories, in his report, 30th April, 1860, referring to co-operative manufacturing concerns, says :—

‘ Co-operative societies have multiplied greatly since the passing of the Limited Liability Act. They are composed generally of operatives. Each society has a capital of 10,000*l.* and upwards, divided into shares of 5*l.* and 10*l.* each, with power to borrow in certain proportions to the capital subscribed ; and the money borrowed is made up of small loans by operatives and persons of the like class. I have been informed that in Bury alone upwards of 300,000*l.* will be required to put the co-operative mills there, built and building, into working order. In cotton-spinning mills, the spinners and persons employed are frequently shareholders in the same mill, working for wages, and receiving interest on their shares. In cotton-weaving sheds, of which there are many in my district, the partners frequently hire work-looms. This is attractive to operatives, because no capital is required to start them in their undertaking ; they purchase the yarn ready for the loom, weave the cloth, and the factory operation is completed, or else they receive the yarn from some manufacturer who trades with them, and return to him the woven fabric. Here is no complication of buying the raw material, working it up to the best advantage through the various processes, from the first sorting of the raw material to the final spinning of the yarn, finding carders, ravers, drawers, jobbers, spinners, piecers, &c., which must be undertaken in a spinning-factory ; but the whole is completed in one process, that of weaving, which requires, moreover, but one class of hands. These men were operatives working for hire, the servants of another ; by this co-operative system the servant becomes a master : he works, indeed, himself, as do others of his family, but they work with him, under his control and observation, and thus, notwithstanding the special objections to the factory system, on the ground that it must necessarily discourage the small manufacturer, we see here a return to the old domestic system of manufacture, in which the master, his family, and workpeople constitute one establishment.’

These are called co-operative concerns, but the co-operation extends only to the shareholders, and any workman in these mills who is not a shareholder differs in no respect from a workman employed elsewhere, except in the fact that some of his employers are working at his side, and that the manager is the servant, and

possibly a co-proprietor with such workmen, and therefore likely to be more considerate in his conduct than if he had only ordinary workmen to deal with.

But the Rochdale workmen have adopted the true co-operative principle in their manufactory as in their stores. They are erecting a mill which, together with its machinery, will cost 50,000*l.* The whole of the capital is subscribed, and one wing of the building is probably fitted up and at work before this time. Here is the 'article of association' which regulates the distribution of profits :—

'After paying 5 per cent. upon the paid-up capital, making allowance for depreciation of fixed stock, &c., "The declared capital of the society, and the total amount of wages paid during the previous half-year shall be added together, and the balance of profit shall be equally divided on both capital and wages at so much in the pound, as such sum will make, and such interest and poundage as may be accorded to the capital of the society shall be placed to the credit of the shareholders respectively in proportion to the capital standing to each shareholder's account; and such interest and poundage shall be applicable to the purchase of new shares, either whole or in part, or shall be withdrawn on application; and such poundage as may, in the aforesaid manner, be accorded to the wages earned, shall be carried to the account of all persons being members of this society, or willing to become members, in proportion to the amount of wages earned by them respectively during that time; and the said poundage shall be applicable for the creation of new shares, either in whole or in part, or shall be withdrawn on application to the treasurer or secretary, provided, always, that before any person whosoever shall be entitled to withdraw any interest or profit which may have been placed to his account, such person shall have at least two paid-up shares in the society, in accordance with Rule 7; and if such two shares be not paid up, then the before-named interests and profits shall remain to such person's credit towards the completion of such two shares, except such person is ceasing to be a shareholder in the society, in which case he shall be entitled to withdraw any capital he may have invested therein, together with all the interests and profits due to him, according to the law for regulating withdrawals."

This is true co-operation, for it requires the best energies of all the parties concerned, and when it has paid the capitalist for his risk, and the workman the market price for his labour, it shares the advantages of good trade amongst the operatives as well as amongst the shareholders. We have known instances where greedy employers have tampered with the clock in order to gain a few minutes morning and night from each of a thousand workpeople. We have known, and still know, others who have washing apparatus and mirrors fitted up in their mills, and boxes in which to deposit the clothes of the workpeople. In these latter places the engine is stopped five minutes before the legal time, to allow the hands to wash and dress before leaving the mill. Which class of employers, does the reader suppose, gains more by their arrangements? The employers who give the time assure us that they make even a pecuniary gain by the gift; but this gain is small in the estimation of the good man compared with the devotion and gratitude which is sure to flow therefrom. A few years ago we were present at the anniversary at such a mill; we witnessed the examination of the best

best of factory schools, and learned with great pleasure that the educational progress of the half-timers was very nearly as great as of those who were all day at school ; we joined in the tea-party of the workpeople, and felt that we should have been as proud to be their employer as an emperor could be of his crown. And if such devotion to the interests of the employer be the result of these small matters, as with our faith in human nature we fully believe it to be, what must be the case when the workman is made a partaker in profits ? Dr. Watts, speaking of the above rule, remarks as follows :—

‘Here is a plan by which a workman, who has never been able to save a penny out of his wages, may yet become his own employer ; nay, there is even a gentle coercion to make him a partaker of profits, and to invest such profits for him, so that by the time he is unable to work, the interest and profits of a capital, which has cost him no effort beyond what would have been necessary elsewhere to earn average wages, may support him in old age. For, assuming the society to divide 15 per cent. on capital and 10 per cent. on wages per annum, then a man might commence work at age 20, getting and spending his 20s. per week of wages as at another establishment, and simply allowing his share of profits to accumulate, and he would, at the end of twenty years, find himself credited with 536*l.*, which, if left in the concern at 15 per cent., would enable a workman to retire at age 40 on 80*l.* per annum. If this be thought an extravagant picture, let sceptics double the term necessary for its accomplishment, and still each workman will become independent between the ages of fifty and sixty years. If such a prospect does not secure intelligent and moral workmen, there is little hope of the race. But there is no fear of the result. A gentleman who has watched the progress of the Rochdale societies from the commencement, says :—“The alteration produced in the habits of the members is wonderful : men who were formerly of dissipated habits, women who were extravagant and troublesome to their husbands, have all been wonderfully improved ; drunkenness is greatly diminished, and plenty and cheerfulness now reign in many houses where want and degradation were common.”’

The first calculation is probably somewhat overcharged ; but since some of these limited liability companies have divided as much as 40 per cent. during the past year, it ought not to be considered an extravagant estimate to expect from 15 to 20 per cent., and 15 per cent. average profit would fulfil the second estimate. What an incentive to sobriety, industry, and general good conduct ! Surely no workman with any degree of moral sense will think of devoting his proportion of profit to any other purpose than the purchase of shares ; and if this course of conduct be adopted, and this movement spread, as we think it must needs do, we can see our way to the rapid declension of drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, and to a rapid increase of comfort and intelligence in the homes of working men.

The movement has commenced in the cotton trade ; but it is equally applicable to all trades where machinery is employed and men work in masses. We shall expect to see it speedily adopted in the woollen and linen districts of Yorkshire, and in the production of plain silk fabrics in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Warwickshire ; and if a few intelligent leaders can be found amongst the coal-

miners, the possession of a few pits on the co-operative principle might probably prevent a recurrence of the strikes and lock-outs to which we have become so familiar, and would doubtless result beneficially to the public at large. Suppose that at the time of the lock-out of the building trades in London the societies had themselves been in a position to take contracts, and thus to have employed one-fourth of the workmen at average wages, the combination of employers would probably have been prevented, and a speedy solution of the difficulty would have been arrived at—possibly an arrangement to pay wages at per hour instead of per day, so as to enable men to choose whether to work for nine or ten hours might have settled the question. At any rate, if the workmen had been prepared to take the field as competitors for jobs with the masters, they would soon have settled for themselves, by the demand for labour at their prices, whether or not the public could afford to pay ten hours' wages for nine hours' work. The extra reward for labour, in accordance with the prosperity of the concern, is a great but not the greatest object in these co-operative manufactories. The fact that every man must feel that success depends on his own exertions, that the quality of his individual work will facilitate or prevent the sale of produce, will render each workman habitually careful, will prevent waste and extravagance of material, and will thus induce habits of consideration and frugality in all the business of life, and be of great importance in the education of children, thus extending the benefit to all future generations.

We are told that the cloths produced by some of the joint-stock manufactories, where many of the workmen are also shareholders, hold the first rank in the Manchester market, and the considerations above suggested prevent such an announcement from exciting any surprise.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll, in his speech at the annual meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Mechanics' Institutes, said that joint-stock companies for spinning and manufacturing, with a nominal capital of 600,000*l.*, had been registered under the Limited Liability Act during the last two years. Dr. Watts gives a list covering more than a million sterling in Lancashire alone; and we learn that several companies have been originated in Yorkshire also. But so far as we know, Rochdale alone has a true claim to the term 'co-operative,' and to this model we would specially direct the attention of working men. Joint-stock companies, with extensive proprietories, will raise some working men into the rank of employers; but from various causes the shares will slowly and surely accumulate in few hands, and will leave the bulk of the working class poor as ever. But the Rochdale plan, whilst injuring no one, will gradually and as surely elevate all who are

are connected with it, and its general adoption would result in improved wages, increased frugality, and higher morality of the working classes generally.

We are anxious, before concluding this article, to say a word of warning to the friends of co-operative enterprises. These societies have only been rendered possible by the passage of the 'Limited Liability Bill.' Many persons who, according to their light, are friendly to any measure of progress for the working classes, gave to that bill strenuous opposition upon the ground that it would lead to undue speculation by its facilities for the manufacture of fictitious capital ; that companies would be started in every direction and for every possible purpose ; that selfish managers holding only a few nominal shares would contract debts in every direction, and leave the bankrupt estates to be wound up in Chancery with no assets for creditors. It is unfortunately true, that there is no good thing which is not liable to abuse, and it is not to be expected that so long as we have rogues in society they will cease to scheme for a living out of the earnings of honest men ; yet we think that no worse exposures are likely to result in Chancery from limited liability companies than have already appeared from joint-stock and private banks and individual firms in Chancery, in Bankruptcy, and in Criminal Courts. But the benefits to be derived from the principle of limited liability are so numerous and so great that we are anxious to secure for it a better reputation than the old plan either has or deserves to have ; and we hope to see the same doctrine prevail in these co-operative companies as in the stores—viz., to leave to others the manufacture of cheap stuff, whilst their chief care is to make honest stuff ; to leave to others to work for appearance only, whilst they work for utility as their chief feature ; to leave others to make stuff to sell, whilst they make it to wear. Another principle of the stores they will do well to observe—viz., to confine themselves as much as possible to cash transactions ; in all cases to buy only for cash ; and as this will necessitate that in the main they shall also sell for cash, this plan will keep them out of many difficulties. At present we are surprised at the rapid progress of these companies, and we find their large profits quoted in prospectuses for the establishment of new ones, as in the silk districts of Coventry and Nuneaton, where for the present the ribbon trade is suffering a sort of mesmeric sleep, arising from the combined and overpowering influences of a wintry summer, a panic at the sudden loss of protection, and the vagaries of Dame Fashion. But the homes of the cotton manufacture are Lancashire and Lanarkshire ; and as a man opening a new shop goes into the locality where shops of the same kind throng most, so that he may share the casual custom, so the best chance for extensions of the cotton trade are in its present homes. It is curious how short a distance deranges

deranges the necessary materials for success ; and it is a problem which remains yet to be solved why the cotton manufacture has never thrived much in Warrington, which is only half the distance of Manchester from the chief port for the ingress of the raw, and the egress of the manufactured article ; why it has failed or kept up only a struggle for existence in Hull, in Liverpool, in Bristol ; or how in Leeds men contrive to make princely fortunes by the manufacture of sewing-thread ; whilst in Bolton a keen, thrifty, and in the main a prudent man loses just as rapidly. But the fact is so ; and we augur no great success from the planting of the cotton-seed in Warwickshire, not only because of the difficulty in acclimatizing the industry, but because the present depression in the silk trade cannot be permanent.

There is no textile material so beautiful as silk, none so deliciously rich to handle, none capable of such delicate fine shades of colour, none which resists the effects of dirt so well ; and we are not yet prepared to admit either the superior mechanical ingenuity or capability to labour of the foreigner over the Englishman. Silk will again assert its supremacy in Warwickshire, and cotton will remain in its present home.

Sixty-five years ago cotton was spun in Coventry ; but the exotic died out, as the woollen manufacture died out in Warwick before that date, its only records being in history and heraldry.

Failures of limited liability companies we may expect, whether established for the benefit of shareholders, or for the operatives also ; but we hope that every succeeding year will add to the store of experience and to the general education of working men, so that their manufactories shall not yield an extraordinary proportion of failures in any future crisis.

And if these societies on the truly co-operative plan do extend, there will also be an end to strikes and lock-outs on account of wages. Boards of conciliation and arbitration will not be needed, nor shall we have any renewal of the short-time agitation, for men will not need to strike against themselves, they will not need arbitrations other than their own rules provide for, and they will dictate their own hours of work, without a public agitation and without asking the legislature to interfere either by enacting the definite hours for labour or by restricting the motive power.

ART. III.—1. *Colportage, its History and Relation to Home and Foreign Evangelization.* By Mrs. W. Fison. Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hurst.

2. *The Book-Hawker, his Work and his Day.* By the Rev. H. G. de Bunsen.

3. *Book-Hawking.* By the Rev. Nash Stephenson.

4. *Reports of Book-Hawking Society* for 1859, 1860.

5. *Report of Religious Tract Society* for 1860.

6. *Occasional Papers and Reports of Pure Literature Society.*

7. *Notes of Progress of Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland.*

8. *The Missing Link.* By L. N. R., author of 'The Book and its Story.' Nisbet and Co. 1860.

IN a former number of this Review, when writing on 'Free Libraries for the People,' we alluded to the importance of providing other machinery to reach the intellectual necessities of our population in agricultural districts and isolated dwellings, the different circumstances in which the inhabitants of town and country are placed, requiring certain adaptations to accomplish a given purpose for each.

But alike throughout all parts of Great Britain, until we possess a more educated population, the aggressive agency of the Colporteur or Book-Hawker is needed to aid mental progress, and excite the desire for reading in the minds of those, who are not sufficiently enlightened to appreciate the advantages offered by the public library. Hence we regard Colportage as not only supplementary but indispensable to the full realization of all the benefit our country will derive from the 'Free Libraries Act.' The relations of colportage to the religious and social progress of the people are so numerous and important, while its capabilities are as yet so imperfectly recognized, that we are doubly anxious to bring the subject, in some of its bearings, before our readers.

We shall first view colportage in its aspect as an aggressive evangelizing agency. Its records, as given us in the book we have named above, attest its remarkable power and efficiency.

The term 'colporteur' is of French origin, from *col*, 'the neck,' and *porter*, 'to carry,' and has been from an early period applied to the bearer of religious books from house to house. Even centuries before the Reformation travelling merchants carried about with their wares manuscript chapters, and sometimes entire copies of the Scriptures. The devoted pastors of the Waldensian churches often acted the part of hawkers, that they might thus gain access to the dwellings of the rich, and offer them those treasures that money could not buy. When the Bible became accessible

accessible to all through the medium of printing, large editions were circulated in France, Switzerland, and other parts of the continent by colporteurs.

D'Aubigné, in his valuable 'History of the Reformation,' shows that both the press and personal Christian effort were well employed by Luther and his successors in effecting the greatest of all moral revolutions since the dawn of Christianity. He says : 'Farel and his friends consigned the books to certain pedlars or colporteurs, simple and pious men, who, laden with their precious burden, passed from town to town, from village to village, and from house to house, knocking at every door.' And as early as 1524, there existed in Bâsle a Bible Society, a Tract Society, and an Association of Colporteurs for the benefit of France.

When the Bible of De Sacy was published in France in 1666, we find the same agency employed to put it in circulation throughout the kingdom, and we know from Beza that several colporteurs were afterwards burnt to death by the Romanists for having thus circulated the word of God ; but in 1685 the fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes led to the entire suppression of this important evangelizing agency. In Great Britain, although we can find no mention, at such an early period, of colportage being systematically employed, yet from the writings of Baxter and other eminent men before and after his time, we gather that the distribution of good books by hawkers was considered a work of great importance ; and Baxter remarks that he 'would rather be the author of books to be carried in pedlars' packs to the poor man's door, than of books to stand in golden libraries.'

The revival of colportage on the continent of Europe is associated with one of the most interesting events in the religious history of the present century, viz., the formation of the Free Church of Geneva. The evangelization of France was a subject of the deepest interest to the devoted men who founded this church ; and we believe we are correct in ascribing to their zeal the first re-employment of colporteurs in that country and Switzerland. The first employed was a Frenchman, named Ladam, who had served under Napoleon. He began his work in 1820, being superintended by Henri Pyt, one of the ministers of the Free Church. At the third anniversary of this church there were eight colporteurs engaged in the work ; and ere long so great was the success of their labours in France, that the British and Foreign Bible Society was led to introduce the system of colportage as a part of their machinery, and considerably more than 100 colporteurs are now engaged in the work throughout France. In fifteen years these men have circulated in that country nearly 1,700,000 copies, and in many cases the seed thus sown has awokened a desire for the pure ministry of the word; numerous Protestant

Protestant congregations having arisen which trace their origin to these humble labourers.

In Norway and Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, the same system of colportage has been carried out with similar results. Various societies supplement the labours of the Bible Society by employing colporteurs to circulate other books and tracts beside the Bible.

In Turkey, China, and India, colportage, although not yet carried out on a scale commensurate with the existing need, has proved itself the agency that prepares the way best for future missionaries.

‘When, thirty years ago, American missionaries came to labour in various parts of the Turkish empire, they found that the Bible Society had been their pioneer, and, as they said, a right arm to them. “We trace this great work,” Dr. Dwight adds, “directly and entirely to the circulation of the printed Scriptures. God blessed his own Word, and it prepared the way for the preached gospel. In many a town a single Bible commenced a most important work of God in the surrounding districts.”’

Experienced missionaries point to colportage as the means best fitted to teach the people. We find the late lamented Weitbrecht, when speaking at a Bible meeting in Calcutta, suggesting ‘the employment of colporteurs, to go somewhat on the plan of those in Europe, to distribute parts of Scripture to people who could read.’ M’Leod Wylie, Esq., of Calcutta, mentions that the supply of missionaries to the Indian population is as yet only in the proportion of one man to every half million. And, we would ask, how can such destitution be met but by a well-organized system of colportage through native converts, which will involve less expense than any other aggressive evangelizing agency, and occupy the field till the Christian missionary can be sent?

In Africa Bishop Gobat, when seeking the evangelization of Abyssinia, sent eighteen camel-loads of Bibles to be circulated by the missionaries before they began to preach, which seed, ‘I trusted,’ adds the bishop, ‘would not fail to develop itself for the regeneration of the country.’ In Western and Southern Africa colportage has begun its work, and only needs further development. We doubt not that ere long Central Africa will have her Christian colporteur following in the track of the devoted missionary who has so successfully pioneered the way by his scientific and philanthropic researches.

In the islands of the South Seas, in Tasmania, Australia, and South America, colporteurs are labouring with great success, while in British North America we find the Bishop of Rupert’s Land employing some of his converted Indians in the same work; but it is to the United States of America we wish especially to direct our readers’ attention, as colportage in Great Britain, especially in

in Scotland, owes its primary impulse to the same mind that originated the American enterprise.

'The history of colportage in America is recent, and deeply interesting. It had its origin in compassion for the destitute, and a conviction that more aggressive and comprehensive plans of evangelization than those in operation were imperiously demanded. It was at a juncture when the tide of emigration began to set strongly to American shores; when Romanism, throwing off its disguises, became bold and confident in its intrusions into educational and political affairs; when the Western territories were beginning to be filled by the overflowing of eastern and foreign states; when intelligent minds were boding evil from the increasing masses of the ignorant and vicious; and when the sources of corruption from a polluted press, and from imported infidelity and socialism, awakened just alarm, that the foundations of the colporteur enterprise were laid. God's hand was in it, indicating the period, preparing the public mind, raising up the agencies, and guiding the counsels of this movement for carrying the Gospel into "regions beyond" the scenes of its present triumphs.

'The American Tract Society, under whose auspices the system of colportage was introduced and applied to the American field, was founded in 1825. Its name, like that of the parent society in London, is expressive of a publishing institution, in distinction from a missionary society. In May, 1841, the society's Annual Report directed attention to the moral wastes of the West and South, and urged the importance of extending the circulation of its publications among the destitute. At the anniversary of the American Tract Society, Boston, the same month, one of the secretaries of the society at New York made a public appeal for well-qualified labourers to go to destitute places. Several persons responded to the appeal, of whom two young men were selected, one for Indiana, and the other for Kentucky. Soon others were raised up for needy parts of the country; and at the close of the year 11 colporteurs had been in commission; at the close of the next year, 23; during the succeeding year, 76; the next, 143; then, 175; the next, 267; and in the next, including theological students during vacations, the number increased to 397.

'As the practical results of the enterprise were developed it was seen to have an adaptation to the several classes of the heterogeneous population of America; and it was applied successively to the German, Irish, French, Welsh, and Norwegian emigrants; and more recently to the Spanish population in Mexico, and to the Germans in Canada. From the feeblest beginnings, colportage in America has become a movement of great interest, having wide-spread and important relations. In the year ending March 1st, 1858, 787 colporteurs were employed, 174 of whom were students engaged only for a brief period.

'These were distributed as follows, exclusive of the students we have named:—

In the Northern and Middle States	157
In the Southern and South-Western States . .	293
In the Western and North-Western States . .	156
In Canada and among the Indian tribes	7

'Almost every state and territory has reaped some of its fruits within the year, of which abundant illustrations are found in the society's Annual Report and the monthly issues of the American "Messenger."

It was in consequence of the great success that had attended colportage in America that the Rev. R. Cook, then one of the secretaries of the Religious Tract Society of New York (who had been privileged to originate the system in the United States), visited Great Britain in the hope that he might be the means of forming an association for extending such an agency throughout this country. At the time Mr. Cook visited Scotland the Committee of the Religious Tract Society of that country had been considering the means of counteracting two very serious evils which they found

found to exist throughout North Britain in common with other parts of the United Kingdom. These were, first, the circulation of an injurious periodical literature ; and secondly, the extent to which masses of the people, especially in rural districts, had either never formed reading habits or entirely lapsed from them..

Mr. Cook's statements greatly interested the committee, and the experiment of employing a limited number of colporteurs was at once tried. It proved so successful that soon more labourers were sent into the field ; and at the present moment there are 90 dispersed over Scotland, their united sales having now reached the large sum of 8,500*l.* The monthly sale of periodicals now exceeds 40,000, being nearly doubled since the last report. In Tillcoultry, a manufacturing district, the colporteur sells from 1,300 to 1,400 periodicals every month.

We give an extract or two from the journals of Scotch colporteurs, as they afford a vivid picture of the benefit conferred by their labours :—

‘ I have now been two years a colporteur in this agricultural district, and I see the greatest change in it since I began my labours. At first, the farmers and servants, and the people generally, seemed to read nothing, except a newspaper sometimes ; and they took no interest in my work, and few would look at my books. Now there is scarcely a house in which I do not make sales, and almost all the farmers and their hinds take periodicals from me. Indeed, the servants have become so fond of reading, that when there are eight or ten of them on a farm, they all agree to take different periodicals, that they may be able to lend to one another. Since I began my labours I have had many proofs of the value of the aggressive system followed by the agents of your society. I am convinced that in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred the books purchased from me would never have got into the hands of their present possessors unless carried into their houses. They would never have thought of entering a bookseller's shop, even although they passed one, much less would they have gone out of their way to seek it. When I came here I got from my predecessor a list of one hundred subscribers to periodicals. There are now about six hundred, and I expect them still to increase.’

In Ireland a great and pressing necessity exists for a well-organized system of colportage. In the scanty library of the Irish peasant are found books that embody disaffection and religious hate to a degree that would astonish those who have never sought to find in the literature of the common people the key to such a baneful influence. Nugent's ‘ Moore's Almanac,’ which is largely sold among the peasantry, contains such predictions of coming events as the following :—‘ 1858, January. Aries, in trine to Cancer, shows America prepared to slip the leash and let loose the dogs of war, while savage John Bull, shivering in the Indies, drops a prophetic tear for the loss of his foreign possessions. Verily thou art a beaten beast, John. The day is at hand when the nations shall tread thee under foot as a social, political, and irreligious nuisance.’

There were, till very recently, 73 towns in Ireland, the average population of each being 2,300, without a single bookseller's shop.

shop. The Report of the Pure Literature Society for 1860 mentions one case, that of Newbridge, a cavalry and artillery garrison, having within two miles of it the Curragh camp, with sometimes 10,000 men in the field, and yet in the entire district not a place where a religious work or publication of any kind can be purchased. As an appeal is made in the Report for funds to establish a central colportage agency at Newbridge for the adjacent districts, we hope something has ere this been done to remedy so lamentable a state of things.

In England at different times efforts have been made by private persons to employ colportage, and a number of independent societies have arisen, many of which are now formed into an association called the Church of England Book-hawking Union, under the patronage of His Royal Highness Prince Albert. A wide interest has been created on the subject, and large sums have been subscribed, to carry out the important object of supplying the people with a healthy literature. Many valuable publications are thus scattered over the country, and the visits of the book-hawker are eagerly welcomed. Upwards of sixty book-hawking associations now exist, and there are few counties in England in which the system is not in operation.

‘It is pleasant to see in the Reports the long list of villages that receive the visits of the book-hawker, and it is evident from the results of their labours that in many cases a taste for reading, and a desire to possess books, have been created. Thus we find in the journal of a hawker who traverses a county well known for the former ignorance of its labourers: “Sold Bibles and Prayer-Books to the amount of fourteen shillings in one small hop garden.” “As I was passing through E—— a second time several people, seeing the cart, ran after me, and in a few minutes I sold eleven Bibles and a few small books.”

‘A society in the Eastern counties, employing one hawker, sold during the year to the amount of 310*l.*; another in the south, 350*l.* The largest association, employing five hawkers and an assistant, sold nearly 855*l.* worth. In one district, where the work is carried on by an individual clergyman, employing one hawker, books and prints were sold last year to the amount of 500*l.* A hawker in the north sold weekly to the amount of 4*l.* 9*s.*, almost entirely among the colliers.’

In addition to the large number of secular works sold, the sale of Bibles and Testaments has been great. The County Association, which employs six men, sold in one year 2,500 Bibles and Testaments, and nearly 3,000 Prayer-Books and Church Services. Large numbers of prints are sold: in some districts atlases and single maps. The book which has sold most largely throughout the kingdom, except Bibles and Prayer-Books, is Sir Joseph Paxton’s ‘Cottager’s Calendar of Gardening Operations.’ Periodicals are readily sold, but some of the hawkers do not supply them, as they do not pay monthly visits. The chief favourite of this class is ‘The British Workman,’ owing, in great measure, to the excellence of its illustrations.

The Christian Knowledge, Religious Tract, and other societies have come forward liberally to assist in this work, and most valuable

able aid has also been rendered by the Pure Literature Society, which first formed the medium of communication among the various managers of book-hawking associations, and drew public attention to the importance of their work. Those who were present at the first meeting of the Book-hawking Union in England 'began by considering the movement to be principally an educational one, not simply a religious one ;' and in this point of view the labours of these societies have been most valuable.

But while the labours of the book-hawker or colporteur are thus important in the diffusion of useful knowledge, we consider the highest value of colportage as an aggressive agency suited to the need of our population is only realized to its full extent when viewed in its bearing upon the great work of evangelization. To popularize scientific and general information may well be included in colportage, but the paramount importance of the religious element should never be overlooked if we desire to insure the greatest amount of possible good from our undertaking ; and none, therefore, but truly Christian men should be engaged in this work, —men, it may be, of humble talents and acquirements, but whose hearts are warm with love to God, and who seek the spiritual well-being of those less informed than themselves in the things of the Gospel.

In the history of colportage, from which we have just quoted, it is observed :—

' The relations of colportage to the civil and educational institutions of our country are more intimate and important than would appear at first sight. The very foundation and groundwork of British freedom are the virtue and intelligence of the people—the entire people. But this presupposes the active use of means for the cultivation of the intellect and conscience, not among a moiety of the people only, but among the masses. The school, and the pulpit, and the Christian press, and active Christianity, are as necessary to the being, and the well-being of Great Britain, as a standing army is indispensable to a despotism. In such a light, an enterprise as free as our political institutions, which contemplates, and is actually realizing as it advances, the carrying of some of the most potent means of intellectual and moral improvement to every habitation in every district it reaches, cannot but be regarded with interest, simply as a patriotic movement. It goes to the masses with pages of truth and words of love. It furnishes reading for the million, suited to elevate the taste, improve the morals, cultivate the intellect, educate the conscience, and, by God's grace, convert the soul. It serves to check sectional animosities, by the kindly intercourse of labourers who come from widely distant counties. It gives an impulse to primary education, much needed in the present transition state of our population from an uneducated to an educated one, spreading abroad among the ignorant and the destitute the means of knowledge, and prompting to effort, that they may be made available. A lesson of vast moment is taught respecting the value of religious knowledge as the basis of free institutions by the throes of France in her attempts to secure the blessings of freedom. Does not every friend of freedom tremble at every attempt at self-government in a country where the family, the Bible, the school, the Sabbath, the pulpit, and the Christian press have so little power ? But what France is we may become, by the neglect of those agencies which have made us what we are, or by overlooking the necessity and the means of making them co-extensive with our increasing population. When all the people of this great nation are furnished with the means of education and salvation, then, and not till then, may we

we safely raise our song of triumph, as dynasties and despotisms, which have encumbered and oppressed the world for centuries, crumble and melt away.'

But there are other aspects in which we think the colportage enterprise eminently fitted to meet the emergencies of our country at the present moment. While we would earnestly contend that the religious element should be never lost sight of in this work, we are anxious to see colportage adapt itself to the varying phases of our civilization. It is a great mistake when Christian people refuse to recognize in the progress of the age a mighty power that may, and that should be made subservient to the highest interests of religion. We believe Christian men and women have grievously erred when they have thus acted. How slow have we been to realize the close connexion that exists between the moral and physical condition of our population!—and that the full truth is not yet apprehended, is shown in the indifference exhibited in many towns to sanitary improvement by men who if they were aware of all its bearings upon the religious and moral progress of our country, would be most anxious to promote it. The two greatest obstacles to the religious and social improvement of the people are acknowledged to be their sanitary condition and their habits of intemperance. It falls not within our province here to decide how far the one arises from the other, but this we believe, that sanitary reformers should always include temperance reform as an intrinsic part of their work; and we are assured both will be best promoted if we lead men as intelligent creatures to understand something of the organization of their outward frames, and the danger arising from infringement of the great Creator's laws for the health and happiness of his creatures.

The admirable publications of the Ladies' Sanitary Association, with the excellent temperance literature provided by the Scottish Temperance League, Alexander of Ipswich, and Tweedie of London, cannot be too widely circulated, and should find their place in the pack of every book-hawker and colporteur throughout our land.

Living as we do in a free country, where every great measure that passes into the law of our land must become so through the will of a free people, it is most important to do all in our power towards the creation of an enlightened public opinion, and the first step towards this is to scatter broadcast over the land a literature fitted in every respect to fulfil such an object. The great societies that act as the producers of popular literature have a wide field of usefulness open before them with regard to sanitary and temperance reforms, and we believe their efficiency will be increased a hundredfold if they hasten to occupy it.*

* We rejoice to know that the Religious Tract Society is contemplating the issue of a series of sanitary tracts, and we await with impatience the time when a temperance series will also proceed from their press.

Let it be remembered that the spread of education has entirely changed the mental characteristics of the working man of the present day. The age of stolid brute ignorance is past, except where some remains of it still linger in our agricultural districts. The mechanic or artisan, shrewd to discern his own interests, identifies them closely with the progress of the age ; and if those who desire to influence him for good go to him with an enlightened perception of the physical evils from which he suffers, and of their remedy, his heart will be softened, and an entrance gained perchance for the gospel message when it would be otherwise rudely rebuffed.

In the 'Missing Link,' a record of the labours of the Female Mission, the work has owed much of its eminent success to the social improvements which have accompanied every step of its progress.

We believe that the introduction of the sanitary and temperance elements into all our existing societies and machinery for evangelization would be productive of the happiest results. The testimony of City missionaries is most striking on this point. They can place their hands on the two greatest obstacles to their success, which we have before named, and many of them have expressed to us their desire to add fresh power to their work by such means as we have described.

It will be obvious that there are many existing societies which more or less partake of the aggressive character of colportage, and of these, many, with slight modifications, might form part of a comprehensive scheme of catholic colportage for the whole of Great Britain. But the time is come when such an institution must take its place as the distributor of Christian and healthy literature, and which shall form a point of union for Christians of all denominations. Such an institution has just been started under the patronage of Lord Shaftesbury, chiefly by the munificence of one gentleman.

ART. IV.—1. *Domestic Servants as they are and as they ought to be.* London : Tweedie.

2. *Why do the Servants of the Nineteenth Century dress as they do?* London : Wertheim and Macintosh."

3. *Industrial Training for Girls in Village Schools.* Edinburgh.

IN all states of civilized society there has probably been no subject more prolific of interest to housekeepers in general than the wrongs inflicted and the troubles sustained by the ill behaviour of domestic servants. For the last fifty years lamentations have been constantly repeated over their degeneracy in character and outward behaviour. Each generation is supposed to

to surpass its predecessors in the boldness of its offences. In our day the excitement produced by the misdemeanours of the existing race of dependents has reached a pitch of intensity which has rarely, if ever, been equalled. Good cooks are said to be almost extinct; nurses are 'never to be trusted'; housemaids are notoriously 'unfit for their position;' whilst all classes of servants show an objection to being 'improved,' and a 'contempt for political economy,' which is to be accounted for only on the hypothesis of their utter deterioration. Their self-sufficiency and impertinence are attributed by some employers to the insubordination and rank disobedience of the age. By others these faults are said to be a natural consequence of an ultra and elaborate style of education, which has unfitted them for performing their duties. Others, again, find the proximate cause of the supposed degeneracy in their inordinate love for gorgeous dress; and mournfully contrast the 'neat-handed Phillis' of 'auld lang syne' with that genus of flaunting female who adorns the streets of our metropolis on a Sunday.

On all sides the evil is admitted, and the folly is bewailed. The public is like a spoiled child, which always values what is beyond its reach, and cries for what it cannot get. Our ancestors did not spend their days in congratulating themselves on their great good luck in possessing such incomparable treasures as their 'Nannies' and 'Sallies.' But pathetic are the tones in which it is reported amongst us that the right-minded and conscientious handmaid of half a century ago has now become a sort of *phœnix* in town or village.

Without joining in these sweeping accusations, it must be evident to the most superficial observer that a great transition is gradually taking place in the conditions of English society; and that this change is partly to be attributed to the increased facilities for general education, to the growing love of locomotion and variety, and to a widely-diffused desire for superficial equality, it would indeed be useless to deny. English home life is not what it was a hundred years ago. The old traditions of the domestic sphere of woman's occupations have given way to a cry for emigration and intellectual rights. Mistresses are, in many cases, unable to superintend the machinery of their own households, whilst their inaptitude and neglect creates a spirit of 'uprightness' and carelessness amongst servants. Hence the domain of servants is rapidly becoming a 'separate state,' a 'kingdom within a kingdom,' with its own rules, its own prejudices, fashions, and niceties of etiquette. The levelling process which is imperceptibly going on in all classes of society is partly beneficial, though partly to be deplored. Few of us would wish to revive the ignorant dotage and blind degradation of our working classes a hundred years ago.

ago. The pauper humility of a model village under the old *régime* was a feeble compensation for the state of intellectual depression and brutish indifference which debased a large proportion of the serfs. In an age of rapid material advancement, when everything is estimated for its immediate money value, and when the poor are daily brought under new influences, we need not wonder if they adapt themselves somewhat strangely, at first, to the altered circumstances around them. The tendency of mankind is always to exaggerate; and the creature who first attempts to walk without leading-strings (in his effort to assert personal responsibility and free-will) is apt to tend a little to that democracy which M. de Tocqueville prophesies will be characteristic of the western world.

After all the change is effected by the boasted 'progress' of our age. A gross materialism valuing things for their outward utility, rather than for their intrinsic worth, is taking more and more the direction of humanity. Thus, in many cases, the social relation between master and servant resolves itself into a hard, calculating bargain, being open to the same opportunities for the exercise of fraud and cunning as any other money transaction. The country is growing richer day by day. The poorest peasants of our day dress as queens did formerly, and the commonest gardens contain the rare exotic. Hence the external and superficial barriers of distinction between superiors and inferiors are now easily broken down. In the upper and middle classes a degrading love for counterfeits and shams is fostering a spirit of extravagance and show. We try to appear what we are not, and our servants ape our manners in return. We forget that man is placed in this earth for ideal and transcendental objects superior to selfish progress and worldly aggrandisement. Our dependents copy us, and push forwards in the race. Their impatience of control is connected with love of change. Australia is the El Dorado where those who are affronted in England may 'live in clover'; whilst the ambition to rise, which is engendered by a rapid diffusion of knowledge, is calculated to cause dissatisfaction and to undermine the old-fashioned attachment which once existed between the employer and employed.

Under this state of things it is useless (however well intentioned) to endeavour to recall the old patriarchal type of unreasoning simplicity and obedience. Positive compulsion, and determined intolerance of non-essentials on the part of employers, are calculated to foster the evils they are intended to discourage.* Fussy interference about trifles, and undignified attempts to enforce

* One mistress makes an assertion which the history of mankind contradicts, 'Where no toleration is, there the thing must cease to be. It is the toleration that their folly meets with which keeps it up.'—*Why do the Servants of the Nineteenth Century dress as they do?* Wertheim and Macintosh.

respect, are certain (if they do not altogether fail) to render the intercourse between master and servant artificial and constrained. Still more likely to increase the estrangement between the two classes is that spirit of careless *nonchalance* which is content to look upon servants as 'necessary evils,' or independent social contractors, who affect our happiness no further than as they discharge their special relative duties. The truest wisdom is probably to be found in a medium between these two extremes. The judicious philanthropist tries to catch the spirit of his age. He knows that it will seldom rest with him to give the first impulse to society, but rather to assist, and to guide it in all its strivings after improvement. Every age should have its salient points and its own individuality. We gain nothing when we attempt to revive by artificial means in the present a dead 'simulacrum' of a real and living past.

The servants of the nineteenth century are probably neither better nor worse than their predecessors. Their deterioration is rather relative than absolute; and the causes of that deterioration originate as much with those who rule as with those who serve. It is equally unfair to speak of servants as 'intolerable nuisances,' of whom sixty per cent. may be considered as belonging to the criminal class*, and who require to be governed by rigid discipline; or to make them figure as injured heroines in popular novels, who are 'crushed and worked far worse than African slaves.' In fact, they neither appeal to our pity nor arouse our indignation. But amidst the spread of education, and the rapid influx of new ideas, we cannot stifle the germs of individual character, nor prevent new wants from being felt, new thoughts and feelings from arising.

Every age has its peculiar selfishness—its special form of substituting the worship of the creature for that of the Creator. A subtle form of worldliness is the bane of our own. We are apt to sacrifice everything to a deceptive progress. We forget that there is an infinite disproportion between the real value of loving work and its vulgar market price. We allow ourselves to look upon our servants rather as useful machines than as immortal souls. We limit our charity too much to the tangible. If women had a full consciousness of what their 'spiritual agency' might be, they would not forget that the greatest good is accomplished often by insensible means, and the most important influences are those of which 'no human eye takes cognizance.' Neither of us possesses a life

* 'About sixty per cent. of the servants, in and out of place, would properly belong to the criminal class if their antecedents as well as their present doings were known. I believe I am understating the figures. Numbers of servants who are going on "swimmingly" in service at this day have previously lost their character, and others are going fast to ruin.'—*Domestic Servants: as they are, and as they ought to be.* W. Tweedie. Strand.

which belongs to himself alone, or for the right use of which he is not responsible to his dependents. The superior education of masters and mistresses should teach them to make allowance for the puerilities and foibles of those over whom they are placed. 'To honour all men,' it has been said, 'to acknowledge and perceive the common manhood in its essential oneness, is the special attribute of the Christian man.' But the selfish man who uses others as mere instruments to promote his private interests is the most 'cruel and daring dishonourer of humanity.'

Since, therefore, these lines are more likely to find their way into the hands of the employer than of the employed, their limited space may be most frugally occupied by a few practical suggestions on the *training* and *treatment* of the present class of domestic servants.

I. Any permanent improvement in the education and subsequent character of domestics must be effected by combined effort on the part of masters and mistresses. Human society can be no conspiracy divided against itself. A high class without duties has been likened to trees planted on precipices, from whose roots the earth must crumble. The kitchen conclave sits in judgment on the careless and indifferent master, forming shrewd hard estimates of his character in private. In households where the 'laissez-faire' (miscalled 'liberal') style of waste and extravagance is allowed for the sake of saving trouble, and where servants are demoralized by a manifest indifference as to their antecedents, the 'solidarity' of society is destroyed, and the policy of selfish isolations is abundantly revenged upon employers.* 'Reform,' says Carlyle, 'should begin at home. Once well at home it will radiate outwards, kindling ever more light.' In an age when we have so much sickly sentimentality and false benevolence, and when a show of religion and charity (if sneered at in men) is admired as amiable enthusiasm in women, there is the more need for an exact sifting of the motives of the inner life. The mistress who performs her home duties grudgingly, loathing them as tedious, or despising them as mean, and then rushes into district visiting and inundates the poor with sermons and tracts, is 'paying tithe of mint and anise, and neglecting common righteousness and mercy.' To begin, then, at the root of the matter, we must work *downwards* as well as *upwards*, and any improvement in the system of training girls for service is likely to prove ineffectual if unaccompanied by some change in the education and habits of

* 'The fashion which is now becoming prevalent of allowing written testimonials to fall into disuse, and of filling up vacancies at a short notice, is relieving ill-conducted servants from the only penalty which employers can impose, and discouraging the faithful and painstaking by diminishing the value which attaches to character earned by well-tried service.'—*Report of the Annual Conference of the Church of England Clerical and Lay Association.* June 5th, 1860.

mistresses. The finished boarding-school miss is accustomed to 'exercise herself' on the piano for so many hours daily, to talk a smattering of foreign languages for which she may often have no use in after life, and to daub with Windsor and Newton's paints, whether or no she have an eye for colour; but a thorough knowledge of the English tongue, or that permanent cultivation of the mind which may render her independent of external circumstances, and that knowledge of domestic detail which would enable her to live happily on the limited income now so often allotted to the wives of professional men, is, in many cases, utterly neglected. A healthy reaction is gradually taking place in these matters, and it is probable that the social training of the future generation may prove that accomplishments are not necessarily incompatible with common sense. But here, as in all changes, we should guard against extremes. To command, an officer must 'know the discipline of the ranks,' but is not required to do the work of the soldier. Manual labour is not necessarily implied. We do not wish to see the dignity of our English dames degraded, like that of the trans-Atlantic belle, who scampers with scorched cheeks from the kitchen fire to change her greasy costume, and meet the company at dinner. As in the apostolic days the duty of the married woman is to 'guide the house,' and to set the machinery going: while the destiny of each servant is to perform her allotted task, and to work in her own sphere.*

This leads us to observe one of the radical defects in the present education of servants. The universal sciolism of our days has apparently infected servants, who try their hands at everything in turn. Hence we are no longer served by cooks and housemaids as such (as our grandmothers were), but by erratic geniuses, who change their colours like chameleons every few years. This evil partly results from the improvident habit of parents, who send children to service too early, before they are properly qualified to undertake their duties. It cannot be denied that the late enthusiastic movement about education has in many cases tended to unfit the children of the working classes for the position which they are intended to occupy through life.† We seldom obtain unmixed good from any new experiment, and often require to correct our past mistakes by new experience. By the high standard of learning which has hitherto been attempted in the government schools, clever shop-girls have been trained, but little

* For some excellent remarks on these respective duties the reader may be referred to Mrs. Bayly's useful little work entitled 'Ragged Homes, and how to mend them.'

† The artificial life too often led within public schools, and the want of practical experience which intercourse with the world promotes, is likely to unfit young women for their entrance into society. See 'Report of Annual Conference.'

has been done to educate gentle, ready-handed, ready-witted home companions. It is now universally acknowledged that the best education is that which teaches each class to perform its duty in its own state of life. The practical should be combined with the theoretical. Training should accompany teaching, and, if possible, the formation of habits should take place with the inculcation of rules. A letter addressed to the editor of one of the London papers, and now reprinted for private circulation, proposes an excellent plan for the combination of industrial training with the ordinary education of a village school.* In the school which is cited as an example, a wash-house, drying-closet, laundry and culinary department, were added from time to time with but little extra expense. The pupil-teachers were first initiated into the mysteries of household work, and as soon as they were competent to impart what they had learned, volunteers were gradually enlisted from amongst the scholars for training in rotation. Such a system, if carried out on a more extended scale, would be likely to insure the foundation of industrious habits at the most important period of life. By regularity and method the habits of obedience and industry may become spontaneous and almost automatic. Training institutions for all classes of servants (according to M. Soyer's suggestion) might be found advantageous throughout the kingdom. For the practical teaching of the principles of economic science, the school of cookery (90, Albany Street, Regent's Park,) already offers important facilities. In all cases it would be better if each girl could be persuaded to concentrate her energies upon one particular branch of work, and to choose it for her profession in after life. No compulsion should be exercised, but the worker should be incited, for her own sake, to bend all her strength upon doing the duty which lies before her; knowing that her success in after life will depend upon her own industry. A certain amount of knowledge of the simple laws of health which regulate the body should be considered as indispensable to the training of each nurse. Training institutions for mothers of servants have also been suggested as advisable.†

The same system of instruction should be carried out in the workhouses and refuges for the neglected children of the poor. It has been said that training can effect little when the evil inherited would take 'three or four generations to eradicate,' and where

* 'On Industrial Training for Girls in Village Schools.' Edinburgh. 1848.

† A few of the servants' schools (enumerated by Mr. Baylis) may be mentioned here: Institution for Training Female Servants, 1, Bedford Buildings, Acre Lane, Clapham; St. John's Servants' School, 22, Ormond Street, London; 22, College Road, Brighton; The Industrial Female School, Mare Street, Hackney; Orphan Working School, Haverstock Hill; Hans Town School of Industry, 103, Sloane Street, Chelsea. 'Law between Master and Servant.' By a Barrister.

children learn from their birth to 'understand instinctively all deceit.' But it is manifestly cruel and unjust to allow the homeless children of our land to grow up uninstructed in the duties of civil life, and yet to consider them as amenable to the laws of the state; for the 'assumption of power by a moral agent' implies a corresponding amount of 'responsibility in that agent.' The duty of enforcing education, or of supplying it *in loco parentis* to such neglected ones will probably be recognized some future day. Till then young women in the middle classes who have had the advantage of acquiring domestic knowledge might save a large expenditure by having such children under their perfect control to train in their own methods.

II. A few words on the everyday treatment of domestics. First, as to the spirit of that treatment. If it be admitted that the root of oppression and slavery existed in all society previous to the Christian era, yet the kindness of the Christian faith over that of every other system of belief has since been so abundantly proved that it may be argued there is no need to appeal to Christian householders to remember those who 'mix with them in the commonest details of life.' It might be so if perfect circumstances existed to make perfect men; but under the present state of things the best of us are often startled and appalled by the discovery of a ridiculous disproportion between our conduct and our principles. More than two hundred years ago Sir Thomas Browne wrote: 'Could the world unite in the practise of that despised train of virtues which the divine ethicks of our Saviour hath inculcated upon us, Eden would be yet to be found, and the angels might look down not with pity but joy upon us.' And in our own day Mr. Mill does not hesitate to declare that the maxims and precepts of the New Testament have no hold on the ordinary believer, and that not one Christian in a thousand tests his individual conduct by a reference to its laws. However sweeping such a condemnation may be, it is well worthy our serious consideration that the Church of Christ honours all men as equal in one sense, 'not by confounding the ranks of society, but by raising the manhood in each of us to its true worthiness.' Thus, if we guided our conduct directly by a reference to this principle, many a servant would be esteemed as 'above a servant,' his degree, though low, being raised from contempt. 'Some,' said a quaint old writer, 'stand higher in God's, and some in the censor's book: this may make some equitable balance in the inequalities of the world.' But supposing this argument to have no power in our minds, we should still treat our inferiors with kindness and consideration on the grounds of common expediency. Just as there is no such thing as a particle of waste in the material world, so love and benevolence are never so valueless that they do not scatter

scatter rich seed. It paralyzes the affections to meet daily with persons with whom we have no common bond of sympathy. An all-pervading spirit of charity is the only cure for that involuntary cruelty which makes us turn with aversion from the ill-favoured, or with fastidiousness from the unrefined. There is a fashionable cry in our day for some great work to do, and some noble task to accomplish; yet while we nurse our slothful wishes in luxurious ease, we neglect the opportunities which lie close about our feet. He has not lived in vain who has done his utmost to lighten the burden of suffering for every one with whom he has come in contact. As to the *details* of our treatment of servants, the world must be bewildered already by the numerous treatises which have been written on the subject. Our fair readers have but to step to their booksellers', to order 'Household Hints' by experienced widows, 'Notes' by practical mistresses, books for 'Young Wives' edited by clergymen, and other literature of the kind to their hearts' desire. We have too much respect for these writers to infringe upon their didactic domain; and after all it must be remembered that human right and wrong are relative to peculiar circumstances. 'Toutes les bonnes maximes sont dans le monde; on ne manque qu'à les appliquer.' As supplemental, however, to these numerous rules, or as a means for putting them into practice, it may be as well to subdivide them into three leading classes. Let us call them plans for the *bodily*, *mental*, and *spiritual* improvement of our servants. 1. Great need is there for attention to the hygienic treatment of domestics. A large number of servants suffer most materially in their health by not being permitted to take adequate out-of-door exercise. Medical men are often consulted by women who are labouring under poorness of blood, physical torpor, and mental depression—these evils being clearly attributable to a systematic violation of the common laws of health-economy. In a large number of houses, even of the better sort, the kitchens are dark and often damp; while the bedrooms allotted to dependents are small and ill-ventilated. In summer the kitchen is a place frightfully and intolerably hot; in winter the scullery, larder, and other offices are keenly and intolerably cold. A person's constitution must be strong indeed to bear these vicissitudes with impunity. The tie which unites masters and servants would be infinitely strengthened by some kind attention being shown in these matters. Bodily energy would be renewed by half an hour's daily recreation, and the disposition would be more ready and eager for work. There are few houses in which some arrangements could not be made to allow each servant to have a share of out-door exercise at least every other day. It is often only thoughtlessness amongst the heads of families which prevents this privilege from being conceded. It is by no means an

an uncommon thing in private families for a domestic to be permitted to go out only on a Sunday, and then sometimes not beyond her church; and in hotels and other places of public resort several weeks elapse without some of the dependents seeing grass or trees.* Overwork is as injurious as unhealthy work. On strict grounds of moral, if not of religious, justice a seventh part of a man's time should be looked upon as legally his own. A cold dinner and quietness on a Sunday should be considered as imperatively necessary. Regular hours are for employers as well as for the employed. The mistress who lies in bed to breakfast, and overtaxes the failing strength of a sickly servant, is guilty of the grossest inhumanity. It is impossible to ignore the well-established facts of physiology. Ill health must certainly ensue when the laws of the body are violated. Disease sets in and sometimes fever (it is a significant fact that this complaint is common amongst servants), and an unfortunate girl is sometimes discharged sick and alone in a vast city, or left to charity for support. Well may Mrs. Browning exclaim—

‘I think it frets the saints in heaven to see
How many desolate creatures on the earth
Have learned the simple dues of fellowship
And human comfort in a hospital !’

2. The moral and mental improvement of servants is to be effected by raising them above mere animal tastes and enjoyments, and supplying them with healthy recreation. Employers should endeavour to give beauty as well as strength to their government, to throw life into method, and to ease the uniformity of a servant's existence. Apparent trifles may often exercise an important influence over the happiness of others.

‘Ce peu de chose est ce que, pour sa part,
Dans l'univers chacun cherche et désire—
Un mot, un nom un peu d'or, un regard,
Un sourire.’

Goodness admits of ‘no excess but error.’ The employer who from a mistaken idea of generosity wounds his own conscience by withholding the truth in giving a character is guilty of a betrayal of trust. But to economize by pinching inferiors, to be unpunctual in the payment of wages, or to give a hasty dismissal from irritability of temper, is to commit a criminal injustice. Then the exclusively culinary character of the downstairs department might be modified and enlivened by the establishment of a kitchen library, consisting of a judicious selection of books, or by the introduction of a weekly newspaper or popular periodical. No reasonable mistress should grudge the time thus spared from toil.

* The physical and moral condition of servants in many of the large hotels is often most deplorable. They are rarely allowed to go out, in many cases never enter a church, and have insufficient time for cleanliness and sleep.

The wheels of labour would revolve with more ease and less creaking if oiled with the harmless pleasantness of story, proverb, or fable. It is a positive duty to impart to others a little of the information we ourselves possess. Our heads should not be 'graves but treasures' of knowledge. Servants should be treated also with genuine sincerity, and such a degree of confidence as is distinct from that careless indifference which places temptations in the way of the weak. Tradesmen's books and weekly accounts should be openly and regularly inspected by the mistress as a guarantee of good faith; without multiplying those incessant inquiries, and without yielding to that coarse mistrust which wounds the feelings and demoralizes the characters of dependents. Perchance the most Utopian of reformers can never hope to recall the 'merrie' days when King Alfred left gold bracelets on the broad highway; but it is better to err on the side of trust than of defiance. The pupils of Dr. Arnold were ashamed to tell him a lie. There is an old Italian proverb to the effect that 'suspicion releases faith.' Once have recourse to cunning policy, and many are the crooked ways in which we may be outwitted by adepts in the game. Far better is it, even for the sake of our own souls, to deal so plainly with every fellow-creature that he shall feel himself constrained into truth. Much is said now of the terrible and wide-spread depravity amongst domestics. But let employers remember that goodness is rather positive than negative, and that evil is best overcome by the opposition of a counteracting force. You suspect Betty of creeping out to balls at public-houses, and of meeting her 'young man' round the corner. Give her a little quiet recreation at home (even an occasional servants' party, under your own superintendence, can do no harm), and let her future husband be invited to tea about once a fortnight. You live in terror lest your cook should have a fearful propensity to frequent 'marine stores,' and lest your maid should make 'white rags' of all your under garments. Let a proper arrangement be made when a new servant is engaged. Give the dripping and kitchen waste to the destitute poor, and clothe the naked with your left-off raiment; whilst in consequence of the deficiency of perquisites both cook and lady's-maid should receive a little extra pay.

It is too often forgotten that the voluntary compact between master and servant can only justify a reasonable use of authority. Some persons must be always governing. They multiply rules and invent supplementary decalogues, till the servant, driven backwards and forwards, is bewildered and confused. Much needless pain is often given by noticing defects in dress and conduct in a harsh and dictatorial way. We should treat the source of the disease rather than its symptoms. When the evil itself has abated, the outward signs of it will disappear. Many a servant has been encouraged

encouraged in temperance by the weekly present of the worth of her beer in money who could never have been forced to take the pledge.* Many a spendthrift has been made provident by being taught that the old must be supported by foregone labour, and that his future happiness depends on the prudent consumption of his wages, who would have been jealous of any attempt to interfere with the just product of his industry. Perhaps many a young girl has first learnt to connect the idea of shame with an honest love through the indiscriminate application of the rule, 'followers forbidden.' We seldom endanger morality more seriously than when we raise false standards of propriety and right. It often happens that the foolish kitchen-maid admires and loves the mistress whose tawdry finery she imitates by making herself a bedecked 'rag-fair'; but this is many degrees better than engendering envious hatred by making crinoline a badge of caste.

3. A few concluding lines may suffice to remind the reader that the judicious moral treatment of domestics implies a corresponding attention to their eternal interests. This is a matter which must be left to each individual conscience. Few of us have so narrow an idea of charity as to limit it to the tangible, for we all know that 'there are infirmities not only of the body but of the soul, which require the merciful hand of our abilities.' Religion in the Christian family should be like a 'life-element,' which does not imply much talk or outward show, but is the all-pervading atmosphere of the quiet home. It requires rare tact to edify without preaching, to influence without inspiring a feeling of inferiority, to be solemn without gloom, and enthusiastic without fanaticism. But in sacred things feeling is a means and not an end. Every act of ours has a 'moral complexion,' and many an ignorant servant will accept the life of his inconsistent employer as a 'translation' of that Christianity which may be to him as an unknown tongue. Good men are often singularly unwise when they intend to do their best. 'Some,' says an American writer, 'carry religion as churches do bells, high up in the belfry, to ring only on sacred occasions; others keep it for a particular day, and when religion gets out of Sundays 'it is hunted and pelted with stones, like a wolf escaped from a menagerie; and others would make it a badge of respectability, and while they are ashamed to lift up their eyes unto heaven, they yet manage to look down on their fellow-men. These are not the ways in which to influence our dependents. Neither should we attempt to impose a dogmatic faith upon others, for belief must be the fruit of conviction, and that can be worth nothing which is accepted as an official yoke emanating from an exterior authority. Neither should we show a spirit of partisanship,

* The drunkenness of farm-servants might be abated by the establishment of cafés or of reading-rooms for working men.

and influence our servants to act against their consciences. He who does so may secure another name for his particular sect, but runs the risk of ‘injuring a brother’s soul.’ All this requires the wisdom from above. It is very easy to talk in biblical phraseology, or to adopt an insipid sentimentality, but these are the ‘counterfeits for the true thing.’

ART. V.—1. *Hansard’s Debates.* 1839.

2. *Address of Lord Brougham at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at Bradford.* 1859.

3. *The same at Glasgow.* 1860.

NO living man has filled so large a space in the public eye as Lord Brougham. Others almost as far advanced in life as he still excite the admiration and wonder of their countrymen by the clearness of their faculties and the daring of their eloquence. Lyndhurst, a yet older man, still occasionally rises among the peers; and Palmerston, with the weight of nearly fourscore years upon his head, leads the House of Commons with too much spirit and jocosity. But there is none whose career has displayed so brilliant a success—personal, professional, political—as that of Brougham. Ever since the year 1810, when Henry Brougham entered the British House of Commons as member for Camelford on the nomination of the Earl of Darlington, until now, a period of half a century, his name has been a household word, and his well-known form the foremost in the line upon which the watchful attention of the country has been fixed.

It is not often that professional and parliamentary success are united in the same individual. The most successful advocates at the bar, it is very commonly said, fail in impressing the House of Commons, and rarely are heard except upon legal topics. This is not to be wondered at. The absorbing nature of a successful professional life is unfavourable to the close study of general politics; while the habits of thought and research engendered by constant *ex parte* advocacy, and by an unusual enhancement of technical and narrow detail, seldom permit the expansion of sympathy and zeal necessary for the parliamentary debater.

But Brougham, in the midst of his enormous business as counsel, was the most popular and effective leader in St. Stephen’s. The restless activity of his mind could not be trammelled; and he plunged into the conflicts of party and the agitation of great questions with a heat almost amounting to fierceness.

But the most remarkable characteristic of Brougham’s life has been

been the fidelity with which his convictions have clung to questions of social rather than political progress. His full share of purely party debate was no doubt assumed ; but it will be mainly with the history of social freedom that his name will be associated. Slavery found in him its most withering denouncer—education and legal reform their warmest friend ; and it is as an appropriate culmination of a long career, and not as the result of a restless search after public occupation and applause, that we find him the controlling and impelling spirit of the old movement with a new name, 'Social Science.'

We have nothing to add to the sum of popular knowledge of Lord Brougham's biography.

It must suffice to remind our readers of the principal facts in connection with his long and useful life.

The De Broughams, it is said, were possessed of the manor of De Brougham, where Brougham Hall now stands, as early as the days of Edward the Confessor. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, one of the family married a 'fair Miss Slee, daughter of Mr. Slee, of Carlisle, a jovial gentleman of three hundred a year,' and thus associated the name with that of another old family. In 1777 the then representative of the family, Henry Brougham, married Eleanor Syme, a niece of Dr. Robertson, the historian ; and of this marriage, in 1779, was born Henry Brougham, afterwards Lord Brougham and Vaux and Lord High Chancellor of England. His motto, discovered by the heralds to be the ancient one of his house, is 'Pro rege, lege, grege,' and his crest, a hand and arm in armour holding a luce, argent ; on the elbow a rose gules.

Educated at first in the High School of Edinburgh, in which city he was born, he entered the University at fifteen, and at the age of little more than sixteen was busily engaged in a Latin correspondence with philosophers of European reputation upon some scientific questions he had raised in influential quarters.

After a short foreign tour he was called to the Scottish bar, but soon found that his abilities had but little scope, and at once decided on settling in England—entered at Lincoln's Inn, and assumed the position of an English barrister.

The establishment of the 'Edinburgh Review' prior to his departure from Scotland afforded further opportunity for his speculative pen, and associated him with other ardent and intellectual confederates. At first, fears were entertained of his 'indiscretion and rashness,' but after the third number Brougham did more work than anybody for the 'Review.'

In 1810, Mr. Brougham was heard at the bar of the House of Lords for two consecutive days as counsel for certain London, Liverpool, and Manchester merchants against the celebrated Orders

Orders in Council, issued in retaliation of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees. While the Emperor of the French absurdly prohibited the Continent from any commercial intercourse with England, the British minister, with equal disregard of international law, declared all the coasts of France, and of every country under Buonaparte's control, to be in a state of permanent blockade, and empowered British cruisers to seize neutral vessels attempting to enter any of the ports.

Of course it was well known that no blockade is recognized by the law of nations, except a real efficient one, enforced by a sufficient number of vessels. Mere paper decrees are utterly worthless. But the result of these proceedings was not only injustice to neutrals, but a very angry spirit abroad, ultimately finding vent in a purposeless and guilty war with America and wide-spread distress at home. Having, as we have before mentioned, entered into Parliament in this year, Mr. Brougham mainly contributed to the rescission of these orders.

Until the dissolution, in 1812, Mr. Brougham's parliamentary efforts were chiefly confined to the Anti-Slavery question, upon which he early associated himself with Clarkson and Wilberforce. In 1811, mainly through his exertions, it was made felony for any British subject to engage in the slave traffic—the first great triumph he achieved, and one to which even yet Lord Brougham feels pride in referring.

In 1812, upon the dissolution of Parliament, Mr. Brougham contested Liverpool against Mr. Canning, but was defeated by a large majority, and did not obtain a seat until 1816, when he came in for Winchelsea a second time, on the nomination of the Earl of Darlington. As we run through the debates, from this time onward, we find Mr. Brougham resisting the most obnoxious of the Six Acts, endeavouring to expose and correct the flagrant abuses which had crept into the numerous educational and other corporation charities of England, introducing a bill to promote public school instruction, labouring zealously for Catholic emancipation, incessant in appeals on behalf of the slave, and terrible in his denunciation of tyranny and oppression.

His defence of the Queen upon the proceedings in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, although rather a professional than political display, was an opportunity which rarely occurs, and which a man of the calibre of Mr. Brougham was not likely to allow to escape. When, after an excited nation had been stirred to frenzy by the course of the trial, and the passing through the Lords by a majority of the second reading of the bill, the measure was ultimately abandoned, the reaction of exultation was overwhelming, and Mr. Brougham was a power in the State.

Until 1830 the parliamentary life of Mr. Brougham was one of brilliant

brilliant and useful exertion. He took a zealous and decided part in urging forward legal reforms; and although the tendency of his opinions was by no means democratic, he was regarded as the leader of the parliamentary reformers.

At last, after he had been elected member for Yorkshire, when, to use his own words, he had made his election between power and the people, came the crisis which carried Earl Grey into power, and made Henry Brougham Lord Chancellor.

‘The thing which dazzled me most,’ said his lordship, speaking from the wool-sack in reply to a virulent attack made upon him by Mr. Croker in the House of Commons, ‘the thing which dazzled me most in the prospect opened to me by the acceptance of office was not the gewgaw splendour of the place, but because it seemed to afford me—if I were honest, on which I could rely; if I were consistent, which I knew to be a matter of absolute necessity in my nature;—if I were able as I was honest and consistent—a field of more extended exertions. That by which the great seal dazzled my eyes, and induced me to quit a station which till that time I deemed the proudest which an Englishman could enjoy, was that it seemed to hold out to me the gratifying prospect that in serving my king I should better be able to serve my country.’

From this time until 1834, the individual action of Lord Brougham was absorbed in the responsibility of the ministry of which he was a member. Gradually the enthusiasm which had made the Government ‘too strong’ subsided, and a distrust and dislike, as unreasonable as the enthusiasm had been unreflecting, overgrew the popular mind. The excellent measures of the administration—the Slave Emancipation Act, the modification of the East India Company’s charter, the bankruptcy reform of the Chancellor, the promise of a popular reconstruction of municipal corporations—all failed to win back the confidence of the people. The ministry fell unregretted, and the ex-Chancellor had to sustain a reverse of popularity, intensified and prolonged by the most unscrupulous and persistent slanders of the press.

Nor can we claim, for much of the subsequent career of Lord Brougham, any title to favour. We do not profess to be his panegyrists, and we cannot assent to many of his acts. But while it was naturally discovered that the convictions which would carry a statesman to the length of the Reform Bill fell far short of the popular expectation and belief after the bill was passed, no inconsistency can be charged on Lord Brougham. The mistake was in the people, whose imagination had supplied much which had always been wanting in Mr. Brougham’s public expressions of opinion. But from time to time, for the last thirty years, and especially since a restoration to health has appeared to renew the youth of ‘the old man eloquent,’ Lord Brougham has left footprints in the legislation of the country which are those of a giant. Gradually, as party rancour has cooled, all the old affection for the name has revived, and the old age of Lord Brougham is gladdened by a popularity less boisterous than in his days of parliamentary triumph,

triumph, but not less enduring because more settled and respectful.

In the course of his lengthened public career, there have been few philanthropic movements which have not felt the impulse of Lord Brougham's powerful mind. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, with its 'Penny Magazine,' was the pioneer of the immense flood of cheap literature which now pours in refreshing streams through the homes of the poorest of our population. Freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom of person were all fundamental principles in his social creed. He could not be taunted with the ordinary cry of 'Charity begins at home.' At the same period of his life, when his winged words roused the entire nation to demand the total and immediate emancipation of the slave, he was devoting his most strenuous efforts to the promotion of parliamentary reform. And even now, in his ripe old age, the amount of varied power which he exhibits in dealing with the diverse questions submitted to the Association, which has absorbed his public life and energies, excites the wonder and envy of much younger men. Intimately conversant as he must have become with the obstacles which present themselves to the development of all social progress, it is not wonderful that intemperance and the trade in strong drink should have presented itself as a subject for his strongest animadversions.

Special attention has, no doubt, been drawn to his views in this matter by his emphatic remarks at the successive meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Bradford and Glasgow. The following is that portion of his address delivered at the former place:—

‘Of intemperance, the baneful effects need not be dwelt upon in detail. It is the smallest part of the evil, that at the very least ten times as much money is spent upon drink as upon publications of all kinds, newspapers included. The learned and enlightened Recorder of Birmingham makes this abundantly evident in his valuable charges to the Grand Jury. But the far worse effects of this propensity in producing disease both of body and mind, and in filling our jails with criminals and our workhouses with paupers, are so dreadful as loudly to call for the application of repressive measures. The connection of intoxication and of drunken habits with crime is demonstrated in the clearest manner. “Every one acquainted with criminal courts,” says Mr. Hill, “must admit the truth of what our judges state day by day, and year after year, that by far the greater number of all offences have their origin in the love of drink.” The chaplain of Preston House of Correction, Mr. Clay, a name never to be pronounced without the greatest respect for his truly virtuous and useful life, shows that in Lancashire the proportion of offences traced distinctly to this cause was about forty per cent. in years of full employment and good wages, having been only seventeen per cent. in the years of distress; and this difference manifestly arose from the facility of indulging dissipated propensities in prosperous times. In the United States, we find a judge of Maine, the strenuous adversary of absolute prohibition, yet urging the necessity of restrictions upon the sale of liquors. He declares that nine-tenths of all crimes attended with violence arise from intoxication. In another state, Rhode Island, sixty per cent. of all offences appear to be caused by drunkenness, and twenty per cent. of insane persons is the proportion of those whose malady had this origin. That repressive measures are loudly called for in this

this country it is difficult to deny; but if there are objections to these, chiefly from the public mind not being prepared for them, at least we can cease to encourage intemperance by treating it as venial, and by suffering pernicious customs to be continued apparently for its protection. *Not only do those greatly err, but they are positively criminal who treat the subject lightly;* and yet more to be condemned are those who regard intemperance as an extenuation of guilt, of which it is rather an aggravation. How much more criminal are persons in authority who sometimes so consider it in meting out the inflictions of the police, or even of the penal law! *But those are not to be forgiven who indulge in light talk upon that which is the fruitful parent of the worst offences, even of murder itself.* What shall we say, then, of customs being maintained directly promoting intemperance, and which have neither antiquity to plead in their defence, nor any necessity whatever to require their continuance, nor even the fact of the universality to allege in their favour? The existence of statute fairs is a disgrace to the police of this country. In some of the most extensive and populous counties they are unknown, and not the slightest inconvenience is experienced from the want of them. Wherever they are held, all the best authorities among the magistrates and police officers are agreed in representing them as a great cause of drunkenness, and every species of immoral indulgence. It may, however, well be contended that these measures being only in the nature of palliatives, the enormous mischief must be attacked by more effectual operations; and it is painful to admit that we must reckon education itself as among palliatives only. Its tendency to lessen criminal propensities by affording other occupations, as well as by strengthening right principles to divert from criminal courses, is unquestionable. But there cannot be a greater fallacy than to set its effects in repressing crimes against that of intemperance in producing them; and it is a dangerous fallacy, for men to rely upon the improvement in character and its effect in controlling the passions as sufficient to counteract the direct tendency of intemperance; and then answer the call for repressive measures by bidding us trust to education. The humanizing influence of instruction in preventing offences attended with violence is proverbial, and is admitted. We have a striking illustration from the proportion of crimes committed with violence proceeding from drunkenness. The influence of education is indirect, and of gradual operation. The action of intemperance is direct and immediate. We may so far trust to the improvement produced by the former as to expect from it a diminution in the number of offences, but the latter adds to their number and increases their malignity as certainly and far more powerfully. To rely upon popular improvement alone, and take no measures for removing the great cause of crimes, would be to lull ourselves into as perilous a security as theirs who should trust to the effects of diet and regimen when the plague was raging; or in that confidence, before it broke out, should take no precaution against its introduction. So, training the people to arms is a wise policy in any country; and our insular position does not exempt us from this duty. But he would be an unsafe counsellor who should bid us rely on the martial habits of the people, and not repel invasion by our fleets, or meet it with regular disciplined troops. Intemperance is the common enemy; it attacks even persons of cultivated minds; spreads havoc widely among the multitudes of our inferior orders; and fills our workhouses and our jails. To lessen its force and contract its sphere, no means must be spared, if we really mean to stay the progress of destitution and of crime. The philanthropist has no more sacred duty than to mitigate, if he cannot remove, this enormous evil. The lawgiver is imperatively bound to lend his aid, when it appears manifest that no palliatives can avail. Certainly we have the example of the United States to prove that repression is practicable, and their experience to guide us toward it. That no legislative interference can be contemplated until the public mind is prepared, we must admit. Such was the course in America, and our palliative measures tend to afford the required preparation.'

After referring to the history of prohibition in Maine, his lordship continued—

‘Upon this very remarkable passage in the history of social science it may be observed that at least it affords proof of the experiment having been made, and successfully

successfully made, of dealing rigorously with the evil ; and if the same preparation of the public mind which led to that experiment being tried and secured its success, takes place in other countries, the great example may then be followed safely and successfully. Then the philanthropist would no longer complain with the Recorder of Birmingham that, into whatever path of benevolence we may strike, the drink-demon starts up before him and blocks his way ; or comparing what is cheerfully squandered upon the fuel of intemperance with what is grudgingly bestowed upon the means of mental improvement, lament to find tenfold the price of food to the mind paid for poison to the body ; but would delight to hear our poor, reclaimed from the worst excesses, free from the yoke of the cruel, though perfidious tyrant, declare as they did to the American missionary, that the law must have come from heaven, for it was too good to be the work of man.'

As might be anticipated, such a decided tone provoked the instant animadversion of those organs of the press which represented the 'vested interests,' or which, really being profoundly ignorant of the subject, proceeded to write lightly and flippantly respecting it. In consequence, Lord Brougham further explained himself at a meeting in Accrington, but even yet more plainly at the next annual meeting of the association in Glasgow. His words at the latter place were—

'At our last congress great attention was given to the important subject of temperance, and especially to the necessity of preparing public opinion for those repressive measures which experience daily proves more and more clearly to be required for lessening the consumption of spirituous liquors. The great source of pauperism and of crimes has hitherto only been attacked by palliatives, and although these have had a certain success, yet if there be any means not exposed to serious objections by which the evil may be extirpated, the gain to society would be incalculable. No measure of absolute repression can, of course, be recommended until the public mind has been not only prepared, but strongly inclined for it. But the proposal of the Grand Alliance well deserves a careful consideration—the plan of enabling a certain proportion of the inhabitants in every district—a proportion considerably above the commercial majority—to give the magistrates authority for placing the district under a general repressive Act, passed with such modifications as, according to the Act's provisions, may be allowed in the peculiar local circumstances. A very extensive adhesion has been given to the proposal in the great districts of Manchester and Birmingham, and this, besides its intrinsic merits, will be quite sufficient to cause a searching examination by our departments, sanitary and of jurisprudence. That it deeply concerns both need not be added. But which of all our departments does it not most deeply concern ? Remember the memorable expression of that great philanthropist, our eminent colleague, the Recorder of Birmingham—"Whatever step we take," says Mr. Hill, "and into whatever direction we may strike, the drink-demon starts up before us, and blocks the way."'

Some surprise has been expressed at these speeches by parties whose information as to Lord Brougham's temperance antecedents have been limited by the rumours popularly current. It may be interesting to our readers, and cannot but be useful to the cause of temperance and prohibition, to define his lordship's real position in past years, and to rescue his reputation from a great deal of unmerited reproach. There have been times when the virulence of partisans has carried opponents into the regions of calumny and slander. Even in the House of Lords personal accusations have been made against Lord Brougham which, it is hardly needful to

say, have been entirely false. Many of our readers will no doubt recollect the scene in which the Duke of Richmond thought it consistent with the dignity of the peers to accuse Lord Brougham of personal indulgences ‘pottle deep,’ provoking a retort from that noble lord, that ‘alehouse slang’ should be confined to its usual sphere. The Duke of Richmond uttered a calumny which had no foundation but the popular superstition that a successful lawyer must necessarily sustain his powers by fabulous imbibitions of port. To keep up the legal steam, Coke (!) and wine, rather than water, are supposed to be needful. But the most persistent misunderstanding of the public has been that which has associated the name of Lord Brougham with the Beer Bill of 1830, and has held his reputation responsible for its disasters. In 1839, when introducing a Bill into the House of Lords to *repeal* the Beer Bill, he himself referred to this charge.

‘Some of his noble friends near him,’ said the noble lord, ‘had charged him with having changed his opinions upon that subject. These statements were not more true than many others which were made in respect to him; but the fact was quite the reverse. “How can you,” said the letters he was receiving daily, “how can you be against the Beer Bill, who originally brought it in?” If he had brought it in, and found that he had been wrong, that would be a good reason why he should change his opinion. But it did so happen that he had not only not brought it in, but he had opposed it in every way he could. He brought in a Beer Bill, out of which originated the Committee which proposed and carried the late measure. But what was his proposition? That beer might be allowed to be sold, but not consumed, on the premises. His bills of 1822, 1823, and 1824 (for he had brought forward three) contained a clause prohibiting, under severe penalties, the consumption of beer on the premises. It was then said, Why support the bill of 1830, and suffer it to pass without opposition? He had yielded to the Report of the Committee, but he stated that his opinion remained unaltered—that, as they had fully considered and examined the question, they might take the weight and responsibility of the measure on themselves; it was their measure, not his—their bill, not his; and they would see how it would work in practice.’

The prominence lately given in Lord Brougham’s speeches to the question of temperance is no more than an expression of his long-entertained sentiments of the absorbing importance of the question. In the year we have named, 1839, on the very day when Lord Brougham gave notice of his intention to bring forward a bill to repeal the Beer Bill, the announcement by Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, of the intention of the cabinet to resign, called forth from the noble lord the following memorable remarks:—

‘My lords—After what has fallen from the noble lord, I shall postpone the second reading of the Beer Bill, although I consider that bill to be of more importance, as regards the public morals, than the resignation of any ministry. I do not apprehend that any legislature will be so wanting in a due regard to what I hold to be the highest functions of the legislature—namely, superintending the morals, the instruction, and the welfare of the people under their care—as to allow any mere party feeling, any temporary, and, it may be, only momentary gratification of those feelings to interfere with what I hold to be the highest duty of the senate in this country. My lords, I hold this bill, the repealing the Sale of Beer Act, to be of greater moment than any party question that can divide either

House of Parliament; and I shall persist, whoever holds the office of minister of this country, in my endeavours to obtain the repeal of a measure which I believe to be permanently fraught with mischief to the character of the country.'

It is almost difficult to imagine how, in the face of emphatic declarations such as these, Lord Brougham's former position with reference to temperance legislation should have been so much misunderstood. It shows how unreliable are the general sources from which the public draws its information of the character of public men. Mr. Cobden remarks, in one of his political *brochures*, that the most authentic and interesting history of the nation would be found in Hansard's Debates. Certainly from no other volumes can so complete biographies be extracted; and we have sometimes thought it would be a pleasant task to trace the course of individual and national opinion through this channel alone. Doubtless many inconsistencies would be revealed. During a long public life a man of large and inquiring mind must necessarily add to his information and modify his conclusions: a great man cannot be a consistent man, if by consistency be meant a slavish adherence to a programme of details. But if by consistency be meant a firm and constant faith in great principles of social action, with a disregard of the modes or special circumstances under which it is sought to make those principles operative, a perusal of Hansard will save many reputations from undeserved reproach. Of the one type of consistency Lord Eldon was an example; of the other, Lord Brougham. The contrast between the characters of these two chancellors is eminently instructive. Eldon was the last hope of the party of solid resistance. Brougham, although by no means 'Radical,' the expectation of the advancing party of progress. One, all doubt and indecision where he was not obstinate; the other, brilliantly inconsistent, but full of high courage and self-confidence. The name of Eldon, saving only his legal fame, will be remembered for nothing but for the obstructive pertinacity of his Toryism; the name of Brougham will be associated with the cause of the freedom of man at home and abroad, with the spread of intelligence, and the progress of the human race.

The bill introduced by Lord Brougham for the repeal of the Beer Bill, though adopted by the Lords, was ultimately lost; but the debates upon it in the House of Lords present sufficiently remarkable features to justify some extracts. Portions of Lord Brougham's are as eloquent in invective as any of his most important efforts.

'With respect to the effects of beer-shops,' said he, 'upon the morals of the people, he was in possession of some of the most grievous and distressing facts. Hardly a petition came to him that was not accompanied by a letter, either from a magistrate, a grand-juror, an overseer, a high-constable, or a reverend clergyman, all stating facts similar to what he was about to detail, and they were only to be taken as a sample. . . . Examples were given, too shocking for him to read to the House, of the most abhorrent cases of female prostitution, and of such pro-

fligae and erapulous vice as he had never read or heard of before. . . . To what good, or with what consistency, should the clergy occupy themselves in inculcating piety and morals on the Sunday and visiting their parishioners, in order to tend their flocks and keep them in the right path?—to what good was it, that the legislature should pass laws to punish crime, or that their lordships should occupy themselves in finding out modes of improving the morals of the people by giving them education?—what, in the name of Heaven, could be the use of all the education they could bestow,—what the use of sowing a little seed here, and plucking up a weed there, if these beer-shops were to be continued, that they might go on to sow the seeds, not of ignorance, but of that which was ten times worse—immorality broadcast over the land, germinating the most frightful produce that ever had been allowed to grow up in a civilized country, and, he was ashamed to add, under the fostering care of Parliament, and throwing baleful influences over the whole community.

‘The Duke of Richmoud supported the bill, saying, the beer-shops made the public-houses worse than they would otherwise be. The noble Marquis of West-minster wished gin-palaces destroyed. So did he, for he believed they were worse than beer-shops. He hated and detested them; and if he was in office, the first thing he would direct his attention to would be to correct that detestable evil. . . . He believed that all the disgraceful riots and tumults that took place in Sussex in 1830 were caused by the beer-shops. It was the first year the beer-shops came into operation. It would be an act of favour to most of the beer-shop keepers to deprive them of their licenses, for theirs was a losing concern.

‘The Marquis of Salisbury supported the second reading, wishing the beer-houses to be placed under the same restraint as public-houses.

‘The Earl of Hardwicke complained of the manner in which convictions against beer-houses were treated. In many cases the magistrates were brought into the Queen’s Bench, and actions brought against them for heavy damages. All that was so well understood, that convictions were at an end, and there was no control over the beer-houses as the law stood.

‘Lord Wynford thought the evils of beer-shops were as great as had been described by his noble and learned friend in his eloquent speech; but the evils of beer-shops sank into insignificance when compared with those of gin-palaces. He hoped the Government would direct their attention to this very important subject.

‘The Earl of Warwick supported the bill. The evidence of the demoralizing effect of the beer-shops in the county with which he was connected, was most extensive and authentic.

‘The Earl of Harewood could bear testimony to this, that he had never heard anything from any human being but a complaint of these beer-shops, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of the large manufacturing towns, where scenes were going on, daily and nightly, which it was quite out of the power of the police and of the magistrate to control.’

On the third reading occurred a scene too characteristic to be omitted.

‘Viscount Melbourne felt very much the great, the paramount importance of the question, and he was compelled to admit the evils of the present measure. But after all they could do, there would be scenes of disorder in such places. This arose from the nature of the case. Crimes ever would be planned and brought to maturity in those places; but this was because they were places of meeting, not because liquor was sold there (!) Where were thieves to meet? They must meet somewhere to concoct their plans, and the most convenient places were houses of this description. . . . Do what their lordships would, legislate as they would, these things in these places would always subsist; no changes which might be made could alter the nature of the thing. . . . From all he could learn, and he had spoken with persons who had made careful inquiry, there was not one man in the House of Commons in favour of the bill. This was altogether a subject of the greatest importance, which well deserved the care and attention of Parliament, upon which they should well consider what steps should be taken, and whether they ought not to establish one uniform system of legislation. Their

Their lordships might depend on it, that the real cure for the evils of disorder and irregularity in the administration of such laws as beer-laws, was to arm the magistracy with greater power for enforcing the due observance of those laws. Very strange prejudices were afloat upon this subject; it was supposed to be connected with the liberty and constitution of the country. He never could understand what connection there could be between liberty and licentious men, between liberty and impunity for crime. He had always understood that liberty was best secured by a regular and firm administration of the law; and in his conscience, he thought that was one of the great objects to which the attention of Parliament and the country should be directed. But it did not appear to him that it would be wise or prudent, even for the objects their lordships had in view, to pass this bill.

'Lord Brougham, in his reply, adverted to the thin attendance in the House, and the absence of the bishops—only two of whom were in their places. He was sorry to see, from the aspect of the House, that the present critical hour had had the effect of sadly thinning their lordships' numbers. Their lordships liked the Beer Bill little, but they liked remaining in the House after half-past 7 o'clock less. Their lordships liked to see a good state of morality in the country—the tranquil order of society they dearly loved—it was the very apple of their eye; but there was another affection operating upon certain delicate organs in the constitution of noble lords, still more intimately than those connected with the peace, order, and purity of society, and reminding them of what had been called the most important event of existence—that of dinner. . . . There is hardly a bishop whom I have not heard imploring your lordships, from this very place, for God's sake, to apply a remedy to that which makes all our preaching and teaching vain, to reform these nests of drunkenness, to remove these moral plagues—and now that I come forward at their instigation, that I lend myself as their coadjutor, that I put myself as an humble instrument in the hands of morality and religion, but two, out of six-and-twenty right rev. prelates will sacrifice their dinner, their regard for their belly, which is their God.'

'The noble lord was called to order by the Marquis of Salisbury, who moved that the noble and learned lord's words be taken down. Lord Brougham responded by saying, that in order that they might be correctly taken down, he had better repeat them, when considerable confusion ensued, two or three noble lords speaking at once. Lord Brougham explained his meaning by saying—Well, well, my lords, to oblige my noble friend (Salisbury), I will say this, that the bench of bishops, at whose instigation I brought this subject forward, have, out of their earnest regard to the morals of the community, sacrificed all personal considerations, and have attended, during this discussion, by two of their body—I can't go further. And I, having the greatest veneration for the bishops, a respect for them in which I don't yield to my noble friend opposite, I felt peculiar pain in not seeing more than two out of twenty-six present on this occasion. But my noble friend is content with two only; I, on the contrary, would fain see the whole twenty-six here, for if they were here, they would all vote for the bill.'

The Bishop of Chichester rose to repel the unwarrantable attack that had been made on the bench of bishops, and was called to order by Lord Ellenborough; and after a brisk altercation, the House divided. Contents, 36; non-contents, 19; majority for the bill, 17.'

The observations of Lord Ducie, however, deserve special recognition.

'Lord Ducie differed from the whole of the bills that had been brought forward. It had been his misfortune to see a boundless increase of drunkenness, debauchery, and immorality of every description springing from beer-houses. Now, if the number of beer-houses were proportioned and limited to the demand, the evils hence arising would be corrected; and he thought that some measure should be adopted for ascertaining the demand, and apportioning the number of beer-houses throughout the country accordingly. It struck him the magistrates were not the proper persons to make this estimate of what number of these houses would be sufficient for any given district. It ought to be done by the consumers themselves.'

In these remarks were unconsciously foreshadowed the true policy of temperance legislation as promoted by the 'Grand Alliance.' The 'Permissive Bill,' as it is termed, which is the measure suggested and agitated by that body, and approved by the great bulk of temperance reformers, aims at providing the machinery by which the trade in strong drink may be controlled or prohibited by the people themselves. This is the plan deserving of careful consideration, alluded to by Lord Brougham in his Glasgow address.

Nothing can exhibit the lethargy of Parliament upon social questions more completely than the history of the Beer Bill. The admitted mischiefs of 1839 are yet without a remedy. Twenty years have elapsed, and nothing has been done deserving of mention. The revival of Brougham may be the revival of hope on this great social question. In no way could he more appropriately, consistently, and usefully close his great career than by introducing and carrying through the House of Lords the Permissive Bill to which we have referred. He would, by one effort, incalculably aid all the other movements on which his heart has long been set. It would emancipate men from the most galling slavery, leaving free the beneficent influences of education and reformatory training. It would accomplish an important amendment in a perplexing and costly legal system, would promote public health, and would solve one of the chief difficulties in the political enfranchisement of the masses.

The Permissive Bill itself, it is true, would not do much. It is simply instrumentality. 'Into whatever direction we may strike,' says Lord Brougham, quoting with approbation the Recorder for Birmingham, 'the drink-demon starts up before us and blocks our way.' The Permissive Bill would enable the philanthropist to exorcise the demon. Drink is the great dead-weight which crushes the energies of all benevolent workers. The Permissive Bill would prove the lever by which, acting on the fulcrum of the public opinion they create, the workers might raise the weight, and their work would live.

A glorious termination this would be of a long and useful life. The name of PEEL is revered as that of a great statesman. Resisting long, he at last gave way before the force of conviction; and his name is 'sometimes remembered with expressions of good will by those whose lot it is to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow.' But if the last act of BROUGHAM should be to secure for his country those legislative conditions which would best render national sobriety attainable, not a household but would contain a living monument to his wisdom and patriotism—not a hearth over which might not be inscribed his name as a benefactor and a friend.

ART. VI.—WHAT A CURSE! OR, HODGES, THE BLACKSMITH.

THE doctor is a kind man,' said Johnny Hodges, addressing a person of respectable appearance, who was in the act of returning to his pocket-book a physician's bill, which the blacksmith did not find it convenient to pay. 'The doctor is a kind man, a very kind man, and has earned his money, I dare say, and I don't begrudge him a shilling of it all; but, for all that, I have not the means of paying his bill, nor any part of it, just now.'

'Well, well,' said the collector, 'I shall be this way before long, and will call on you again.'

Johnny Hodges thanked him for the indulgence, and proceeded with his work; but the hammer swung heavily upon the anvil, and many a long sigh escaped, before the job in hand was fairly turned off.

Three or four times already the collector had paid a visit at the blacksmith's shop, who was always ready to admit the justice of the claim, and that the doctor had been very kind and attentive, and had well earned his money; but Johnny was always behind-hand; and, though full of professions of gratitude to the good doctor, yet the doctor's bill seemed not very likely to be paid. Familiarity, saith the proverb, breeds contempt. This old saw is not apt to work more roughly in any relation of life than between the creditor, or the creditor's agent, and the non-performing debtor. The pursuing party is apt to be importunate, and the pursued to grow gradually callous and indifferent. Upon the present occasion, however, the collector, who was a benevolent man, was extremely patient and forbearing. He had sufficient penetration to perceive that poor Johnny, for some cause or other, was always exceedingly mortified and pained by these repeated applications. It did not, however, escape the suspicion of the collector that there might be a certain secret cause for Johnny's inability to pay the doctor's bill. Intemperance is exhibited in a great variety of modifications. While some individuals are speedily roused into violent and disorderly action, or hushed to slumber, and reduced to the condition of a helpless and harmless mass; others, provided by nature with heads

of iron and leathern skins, are equally intemperate, yet scarcely, for many years, present before the world the slightest personal indication of their habitual indulgence.

Johnny Hodges was an excellent workman, and he had abundance of work. It was not easy to account for such an appropriation of his earnings, as would not leave him enough for the payment of the doctor's bill, upon any other supposition than that of a wasteful and sinful employment of them for the purchase of strong drink. Johnny's countenance, to be sure, was exceedingly pale and sallow; but the pale-faced tippler is by no means an uncommon spectacle. On the other hand, Johnny was very industrious, constantly in his shop in working hours, and always busily employed.

After an interval of several weeks, the collector called again, and put the customary question, 'Well, Mr. Hodges, can you pay the doctor's bill?' Perhaps there was something unusually hurried or importunate, or Johnny so thought, in the manner of making the inquiry. Johnny was engaged in turning a shoe, and he hammered it entirely out of shape. He laid down his hammer and tongs, and for a few seconds rested his cheek upon his hand.

'I don't know how I can pay the doctor's bill,' said Johnny Hodges. 'I've nothing here in the shop but my tools and a very little stock; and I've nothing at home but the remainder of our scanty furniture. I know the doctor's bill ought to be paid, and if he will take it, he shall be welcome to our cow, though I have five little children who live upon the milk.'

'No, no, Hodges,' said the collector, 'you are much mistaken if you suppose the doctor, who is a Christian and a kind-hearted man, would take your cow or oppress you at all for the amount of his bill. But how is it that you, who have always so much work, have never any money?'

'Ah, sir,' said Johnny Hodges, while he wiped the perspiration from his face, for he was a hard-working man, 'Ah, sir,' said he, 'what a curse it is! can nothing be done to put a stop to this intemperance? I hear a great deal of the efforts that are making; but still the gin business goes on. If it

it were not for the temptations to take strong drink I should do well enough ; and the good doctor should not have sent twice for the amount of his bill. Very few of those who write and talk so much of intemperance know anything of our trials and troubles.'

'I confess,' said the collector, 'that I have had my suspicions and fears before. Why do you not resolve that you will never touch another drop ? Go, Hodges, like a man, and put your name to the pledge ; and pray God to enable you to keep it faithfully.'

'Why, as to that, sir,' said the blacksmith, 'the pledge will do me no good : the difficulty doesn't lie there. What a curse ! Is there no prospect of putting an end to intemperance ?'

'To be sure there is,' replied the collector. 'If people will sign the pledge, and keep it too, there is no difficulty.'

'But suppose they will not sign the pledge,' rejoined Johnny Hodges ; 'still, if gin were not so common as it is, and so easily obtained, the temptation would be taken away.'

'That is all very true, but it is every man's duty to do something for himself,' replied the collector. 'I advise you to sign the pledge as soon as possible.'

'Why, sir,' said the blacksmith, 'the difficulty doesn't lie here, as I told you ; I signed the pledge long ago, and I have kept it well. I never was given to taking spirit in my life. My labour at the forge is pretty hard work, yet I take nothing stronger for drink than cold water.'

'I am sorry that I misunderstood you,' replied the collector. 'But since you do not take spirit, and your children, as you have led me to suppose, are of tender years, why are you so anxious for the suppression of intemperance ?'

'Because,' said poor Johnny Hodges, after a pause, and with evident emotion, 'to tell you the plain truth, it has made my home a hell, my wife a drunkard, and my children beggars ! Poor things,' said he, as he brushed away the tears, 'they have no mother any more. The old cow that I offered you just now for the doctor's debt—and I believe it would have broken their hearts to have parted with old Brindle—is more of a mother to them now than the woman who brought them into this world of trouble. I

have little to feed old Brindle with ; and the children are running here and there for a little swill and such matters to keep her alive. Even the smallest of these poor things will pick up a bunch of hay or a few scattered corn-stalks, and fetch it to her, and look on with delight to see her enjoy it. I have seen them all together, when their natural mother, in a drunken spree, has driven them out of doors, flying for refuge to the old cow, and lying beside her in the shed. What a curse it is !'

'What will become of them and of me,' continued this broken-hearted man, 'I cannot tell ! I sometimes fear that I shall lose my reason and be placed in the madhouse. Such is the thirst of this wretched woman for gin, that she has repeatedly taken my tools and carried them five or six miles, and pawned or sold them for liquor. The day before yesterday I carried home a joint of meat for dinner. When I went home, tired and hungry, at the dinner hour, I found her drunk and asleep upon the floor. She had sold the joint of meat, and spent the money in gin. It's grievous to tell such matters to a stranger ; but I can't bear that you or the good doctor should think me ungrateful any longer. I never shall forget the doctor's kindness to me two years ago, when I had my dreadful fever ; and, if ever I can get so much money together, he shall certainly be paid. That fever was brought on partly by hard work, but the mainspring of the matter was in the mind. My wife was then getting very bad, and when she was in liquor, her language was both indecent and profane ; though when we were married, there wasn't a more modest girl in the parish. Just before my fever came on, in one of her fits of intemperance, she strolled away, and was gone three days and three nights ; and, to this hour, I have never known where she was all that time. It almost broke my heart. The doctor always said there was something upon my mind ; but I never told him, nor any one else, the cause of my trouble till now. What a curse ! Don't you think, sir, that something can be done to put an end to this terrible curse of intemperance ?'

'Your case is a very hard one,' said the collector, after a solemn pause, 'and I wish I could point out a remedy. You need give yourself no uneasiness about

about the doctor's bill, for I am sure he will think no more of it when I have told him your story. If it would not give you too much pain, and take up too much of your time, I should like to be informed, a little more particularly, of the commencement and progress of this habit in your wife, which seems to have destroyed your domestic happiness.'

Johnny Hodges wiped his brow, and sat down upon a bench in his shop, and the collector took a seat by his side.

'Eight years ago,' said Johnny Hodges, 'come the first day of next month, I was married. Polly Wilson, that was her maiden name, was twenty-three, and I was four years older. I certainly thought it the best day's work I ever did, and I continued of that mind for about five years. Since then, Heaven knows I have had reason to think otherwise; for ever since, trouble has been about my path and about my bed. About three years ago my wife took to drink. I cannot tell how it happened; but she always said, herself, that the first drop of gin she ever drank was upon a washing day, when an old Scotch woman persuaded her that it would keep the cold off her stomach. From that time the habit grew upon her very fast. She has told me a hundred times, in her sober moments, that she would give the world to leave it off, but that she could not for the life of her. So strong has been her desire to get liquor, that nothing was safe from her grasp. She has sold her children's Sabbath clothes and my own for gin. After I had gotten well of my fever, I worked hard; and, at one time, had laid by nearly enough, as I supposed, to pay the doctor's bill. One day I had received a dollar for work, and went to my drawer to add it to the rest; and—all was gone! The drawer had been forced open. She knew that I had been saving the money to pay the doctor and the apothecary for their services during my fever: she knew that my sickness had been produced by sleepless nights and a broken heart, on her account; yet she could not resist the temptation. She affirmed, in the most solemn manner, that she knew nothing about it; but two of the little children, in answer to my inquiry, told me that they had seen mammy break open the drawer, and take out the money; and that she went directly

over to the grocery, and in about half an hour after she returned, went to sleep so soundly in her chair that they could not wake her up to get them a little supper. At that time I went to Mr. Calvin Leech, the grocer, and told him that I wondered, as he was a church member, how he could have the heart to ruin the peace of my family. He was very harsh, and told me that every man must take care of his own wife, and that it was not his business to look after mine. I began to think, with Job, that I would not live always. Strange fancies came into my head about that time, and I tried hard to think of some escape from such a world of sin and sorrow, but a kind and merciful God would not let me take my own wild way. I read my Bible; and the poor children kept all the while in my way, smiling sweetly in my face, and driving all evil thoughts from my mind. My eldest boy was then about seven. "Don't take on so, daddy," the little fellow used to say, when he found me shedding tears, "don't cry, daddy; I shall be big enough to blow the bellows next year." I have tried to keep up for the sake of these poor children; and few would be better for their years if their mother did not teach some of them to curse and swear. They have the same bright look and gentle temper that my wife had when we were married. There never was a milder temper than Polly's before this curse fell upon the poor creature. Oh, sir, it is nothing but gin that has ruined our hopes of happiness in this world. How strange it is that nothing can be *done* to stay such a dreadful plague!'

The collector shook the poor blacksmith by the hand, and bade him keep up his spirits as well as he could, and put his trust in God's providence. Promising to make a friendly call, in the course of a few days, he took his leave.

This interview with the blacksmith had caused his visitor to contemplate the subject of the temperance reform somewhat in a novel point of view. The importunate and frequently repeated interrogatory of Johnny Hodges, '*Cannot something be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance?*' to most individuals would appear to savour of gross ignorance in the inquirer as to those amazing efforts which have already been made, at home

home and abroad. But it must not be forgotten that poor Hodges was no theorizer in that department of domestic wretchedness which arises from intemperance. He was well aware that a prodigious effort had been made for the purification of the world, by voluntary associations, adopting the pledge of total abstinence. He perfectly understood that all those who had subscribed such a pledge, and faithfully adhered to it, were safe from the effects of intemperance in their own persons. Yet this poor fellow cried aloud, out of the depths of his real misery, ' Cannot something be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance ? '

His own bitter experience had taught him that there was one person who could never be prevailed upon to sign the pledge; one, upon whose faithful execution of her domestic duties his whole earthly happiness depended—the partner of his bosom, the mother of his children, and she had become a loathsome and ungovernable drunkard. He rationally inferred, indeed he well knew the fact, from his own observation upon the surrounding neighbourhood, that such an occurrence was not of an uncommon character. Intemperate husbands, intemperate wives, and intemperate children were all around him. Johnny Hodges was a man of good common sense. He reasoned forward to the future from the past. He entertained no doubt, that, notwithstanding the most energetic, voluntary efforts of all the societies upon the face of the earth, drunkenness would certainly continue, in a greater or less degree, so long as the means of drunkenness were suffered to remain. The process of reasoning in Johnny's mind may be very easily described. So long, thought he, as gin-selling continues to be sanctioned by law, and gin-palaces are legalized, at every corner; so long as church members distil spirituous liquor, and sell it, reducing the temperate drinker's crown to the drunkard's ninepence, and that ninepence to nothing and a jail; winning away the bread from the miserable tippler's children, and causing the husband and wife to hate and abhor the very presence of each other; so long a very considerable number of persons, who will not sign the pledge, will be annually converted from temperate men and women into drunken

vagabonds and paupers. The question is therefore reduced to this: Can no effectual measures be provided by law to prevent a cold, calculating, mercenary body of men from trafficking any longer in broken hopes, broken hearts, and broken constitutions; and to restrain, at least, such as are church members, who pray to the Lord to lead them not into temptation, from laying snares along the highways and hedges of the land, to entrap the feet of their fellow-creatures and tempt their weaker brethren to their ruin ?

A mouth or more had passed away before the collector's business brought him again into the neighbourhood of the blacksmith's shop. Johnny Hodges was at work as usual. He appeared dejected and careworn. His visitor shook him by the hand and told him that the doctor said he should consider him, as old Boerhaave used to say, one of his best patients for God would be his paymaster.—' Never think of the debt any more, Johnny,' said the collector.

' The doctor has sent you his bill, received, and he bade me tell you that if a little money would help you in your trouble you should be heartily welcome to it.*

' Indeed,' said the blacksmith, ' the doctor is a kind friend; but I suppose nothing can be done to put an end to this curse ? '

' I fear there will not be, at present,' said the collector; ' drink is the idol of the people. The friends of temperance have petitioned the legislature to pull this old idol down. Now there are, in that very body, a great many members who love the idol dearly: there are many who are sent thither expressly to keep the idol up. So you see that petitioning the legislature, such as it now is, to abolish the traffic in drink, is like petitioning the priests of Baal to pull down their false god. But you look pale and sad; has any new trouble come upon you, or do you find the old one more grievous to bear ? '

' Ah sir,' said this man of many woes, ' we have had trouble enough, new and

* I have learned, since the preparation of this tale, from the collector himself, that Hodges expressed the liveliest gratitude for the doctor's kindness in relinquishing his claim for professional services, but that he persisted in refusing to receive the money which accompanied the received bill.—' God will reward the doctor for all his kindness,' said the poor fellow, ' but I cannot take the money.'

old, since you were here last. Intemperance must be a selfish vice, I am sure.

‘About a fortnight ago my wife contrived, while I was gone to the city to procure a few bars of iron, to sell our old cow to a drover; and this woman, once so kind-hearted and thoughtful of her children, would see them starve rather than deprive herself of the means of intoxication. She has been in liquor every day since. But all this is nothing compared with our other late trial. Last Monday night I was obliged to be from home till a very late hour. I had a promise from a neighbour to sit up at my house till my return, to look after the children, and prevent the house from being set on fire. But the promise was forgotten. When I returned, about eleven o’clock, all was quiet. I struck a light, and, finding my wife was in bed, and sound asleep, I looked round for the children. The four older children I readily found, but little Peter, our infant, about thirteen months old, I could find nowhere. After a careful search, I shook my wife by the shoulder to wake her up, that I might learn, if possible, what had become of the child. After some time, though evidently under the influence of liquor, I awakened this wretched woman, and made her understand me. She then made a sign that it was in the bed. I proceeded to examine, and found the poor suffering babe beneath her. She had pressed the life out of its little body.

‘It was quite dead.

‘It was but yesterday that I put it into the ground. If you can credit it, this miserable mother was so intoxicated that she could not follow it to the grave. What can a poor man do with such a burthen as this? The owner of the little tenement in which I have lived has given me notice to quit, because he says, and reasonably enough too, that the chance of my wife’s setting it on fire is growing greater every day. However, I feel that within me that promises a release before long from all this insufferable misery. But what will become of my poor children?’

Johnny sat down upon a bench, and burst into tears. His visitor, as we have said, was a kindhearted man.

‘Suppose I should get some discreet person to talk with your wife,’ said he.

Johnny raised his eyes and his hands

at the same moment. ‘Talk with her?’ he replied, ‘you may as well talk with a whirlwind; the abuse which she poured on me this morning, for proposing to bring our good minister to talk with her would have made your hair stand on end. No, I am heartbroken, and undone, for this world. I have no hope, save in a better, through the mercies of God.’

The visitor took the poor man by the hand and silently departed. He uttered not a word; he was satisfied that nothing could be said to abate the domestic misery of poor Johnny Hodges in the present world; and there was something in his last words, and in the tone in which they were uttered, which assured the visitor that Johnny’s unshaken confidence in the promises of God would not be disappointed in another.

How entirely inadequate is the most finished delineation to set forth, in true relief, the actual sum total of such misery as this! How little conception have all those painted male butterflies and moths, who stream along our public walks of a sunny morning, or flutter away their lives in our fashionable saloons—how little conception have they of the real pressure of such practical wretchedness as this! To the interrogatory of poor Johnny Hodges, ‘Can nothing be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance?’ what answer, here and hereafter, do those individuals propose to offer, who not only withhold their names from the temperance pledge, but who light up their castles, and call together the giddy and the gay of both sexes; and devote one apartment of their palaces, in the present condition of public sentiment, chastened and purified as it is, to the whisky-punch bowl!

The summer had passed, and the harvest was over. About four months after the last interview I heard, for the first time, the story of poor Johnny Hodges. Taking upon my tablets a particular direction to his house and shop, I put on my surtout, and set forth, upon a clear, cold November morning to pay the poor fellow a visit. It was not three miles from the city to his dwelling. By the special direction which I had received, I readily identified the shop. The doors were closed, for it was a sharp, frosty morning. I wished to see the poor fellow at his forge before I disclosed the object of my

my visit. I opened the door. He was not there. The bellows were still.

The last spark had gone out in the forge. The hammer and tongs were thrown together. Johnny's apron was lying carelessly upon the bench. And the iron, upon which he had been working, lay cold upon the anvil. I turned towards the little dwelling. That also had been abandoned. A short conversation with an elderly man, who proved to be a neighbour, soon put my doubts and uncertainties at rest. The conclusion of this painful little history may be told in a very few words. The wife, who, it appears, notwithstanding her gross intemperance, retained no inconsiderable portion of personal comeliness, when not absolutely drunk, had run off, in company with a common soldier, abandoning her husband and children about three months before. Five days only before my visit poor Johnny Hodges, having died of a broken heart, was committed to that peaceful grave, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. On the same day four little children were received, after the funeral, as inmates of the poor-house.

'I have known them well, all their life-long,' said the old man, from whom I obtained the information. 'The first four or five years of their married life there was not a likelier, nor a thriftier, nor a happier couple in the village. Hodges was at his forge early and late, and his wife was a pattern of neatness and industry. But the poor woman was just as much poisoned with gin as ever a man was with arsenic. It changed her nature, until, at last, it

rendered her a perfect nuisance. Everybody speaks a kind word of poor Hodges; and everybody says that his wife killed him, and brought his children to the poor-house. This is a terrible curse to be sure.

'Pray, sir, can't something be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance?'

Such, thought I, was the inquiry of poor Johnny Hodges. How long can the intelligent legislators of our country conscientiously permit this inquiry to pass without a satisfactory reply? How many more wives shall be orphans; how many more temperate men shall be converted into drunken paupers; before the power of the law shall be exerted to stay the plague? In the present condition of the world, while the legislature throws its fostering arm around this cruel occupation, how many there are who will have abundant cause to exclaim, like poor Johnny Hodges, from the bottom of their souls,—What a curse!

How many shall take as fair a departure for the voyage of life, and make shipwreck of all their earthly hopes, in a similar manner! How many hearts, not guilty of presumptuous sins, but grateful for Heaven's blessings in some humble sphere, shall be turned, by such misery as this, into broken cisterns which can hold no earthly joy! How many husbands of drunken wives; how many wives of drunken husbands; how many miserable children, flying in terror from the walking corpses of intemperately parents, shall cry aloud, like poor Johnny Hodges, in the language of despair, *WHAT A CURSE!*

ART. VII.—TEMPERANCE REFORMERS.

1. *One Hundred and Twenty Portraits of Temperance Reformers.* Collected by Mr. Thomas Lythgoe.
2. *Biographical Key to the Above.* Edited, with a Preface, by the Rev. William Caine, M.A., Manchester. Manchester: T. Lythgoe. 1860.

BRITISH Teetotalism originated, like our greatest river, the Thames, in 'seven springs,' whose individual and associated abstinence formed the first society in England. They were not men then known to fame. They were not men of worldly posi-

tion. They had not a name in the Church. All of them were in humble life—winning their bread by the sweat of their brow. But they were oppressed with the sense of the awful intemperance of their countrymen, and fired with a self-denying zeal to do something to arrest the evil and save the endangered. They therefore framed the following pledge, and signed it in presence of each other: 'We agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality, whether ale, porter, wine, or ardent spirits. JOHN KING, JOSEPH LIVESEY, JOHN GRATRUX, EDWARD

WARD DICKINSON, JOHN BROADBELT, JOHN SMITH, and DAVID ANDERTON.' This event took place on the 1st September, 1832—the natal day of English Teetotalism. These men deserve an everlasting memorial. One or two of them did not fulfil their vow; but most remained faithful, and were made largely useful. They were joined by others, chiefly of their own class who, rescued from the depths, became the advocates of the new social reform. It was well to preserve the features and to record the history of the early advocates, and to join them with the reverend, the learned, and the noble who now stand beside them in the cause. Those that passed through the storm of obloquy and opposition, and who continued to prosecute their mission until they saw it taken by the hand by others in a higher social position, deserve to be ranked with their successors in the Portrait Gallery of Temperance Reformers.

'When this reform,' says Mr. Isaac Taylor, 'has been realized in Scotland and in Ireland, as well as in England, the originators and promoters of the total abstinence movement will deserve, and they will receive great praise; or if they have passed away from among us, they will be held in lasting remembrance.' The temperance reformers began in obscurity, and laboured alone; but now that they have triumphed so far as to number as many societies almost as there are parishes in the empire, they shine as 'bright, particular stars' in the firmament of the good. They made their dignity. They won it well, and will wear it long; and now the world does honour to the 'illustrious obscure.' Mr. Caine, who has gathered with such pains the striking history of these men, deserves the thanks of the community for his labour.

It was a happy thought to perpetuate by the art of photography the portraits of the chief temperance reformers in the first twenty-five years of the history of this growing cause. It was still better to get their autobiographies. The next work will be to collect from every society throughout the three kingdoms the history of its rise and progress. Materials will be then provided for the historian of the temperance movement to construct a work of undying interest. We commend this to the secretaries of societies all over the land. Mr. Lythgoe's portraits and

Mr. Caine's biographies will then obtain a greater permanence than ever.

In the space at our disposal we can only afford room for a few sketches, which we shall give to show the character and labours of the early workers, and to evidence the position which the cause has now assumed by possessing ministers, doctors, lawyers, merchants, gentry, and statesmen in its ranks. Many will wish to see the portraits and the 'Key.' We give the account of Mr. JOHN KING:—

'I was born at Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, on the 25th of December, 1795. A Temperance Society was established on the Moderation principle in March, 1832, and I signed the pledge on the 18th of June of the same year. After I had been a member about eight or ten days, I was solicited by my esteemed friend and native villager, Mr. Joseph Livesey, to take an active part in the cause. The town had been divided into districts, and a member of the society (called a "captain") was appointed to each district to deliver tracts and visit his fellow-members. I was appointed to No. 11 District. All the "captains" were members of the committee, and we worked hard in the cause. As the pledge of the society strictly prohibited the use of all spirituous liquors, but allowed ale and porter to be taken in moderation, which often led members to break their pledge, I soon saw that something must be done.

'On the 23rd of August, I was passing Mr. Joseph Livesey's shop in Church Street, Preston. Mr. Livesey was standing at the door, and he said to me, "John, how does thou get on in thy district?" I then told him that some of the members got drunk, and would do so until there was a pledge to do away with the drinking of ale and porter; and I said further that the men of Preston were not in the habit of drinking rum, gin, or brandy, but ale and porter. Mr. Livesey then said to me, "If a pledge were drawn up to do away with the drinking of ale and porter, would thou sign it?" I then told him that I would do so, for I had been acting on that principle for some time, and it was my determination never to taste any intoxicating drink again so long as I lived. I also said to Mr. Livesey that it was my firm conviction that there would never be much good done until there was a legislative enactment

enactment to prevent both distilling and brewing. Mr. Livesey then wrote a Total Abstinence Pledge; and that was the first time such a pledge was drawn up. I then signed it. Mr. Livesey took the paper from his desk, and began to fold it up. I looked very earnestly at him, for he had told me that he had not tasted any kind of alcoholic drink since the previous October; and I then asked him if he was going to let my name stand alone. He said he did not know what to do. After some further talk, however, Mr. Livesey signed his name. When he had done so, he said to me, "I have one thing to beg of thee—that is, that thou wilt not say to any one what we have done." I told him I would let the society know the following Tuesday night. I did so; and on the Saturday night after, at a meeting of a few of the members in the Cock Pit, the pledge was discussed. Some stood opposed to it; but at the end of the meeting the following pledge was signed by seven men:—"We agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality, whether ale, porter, wine, or ardent spirits." The names of the seven were—John King, Joseph Livesey, John Gratrix, Edward Dickinson, John Broadbelt, John Smith, and David Anderton. Before we left for home that night, Edward Dickinson and David Anderton recanted; John Smith died after being a consistent member for some time; John Gratrix left the society; and John Broadbelt was a steady member for many years.

'The Preston Temperance Society began to flourish, and great good was done. The meetings were well attended whenever held in the town. The advocates did not confine themselves to Preston, but held meetings in the surrounding towns and villages. I was president at the meeting held in the Spittalls Moss School, when Dickey Turner signed the pledge, and also at the meeting some time after when he first made use of the word "Teetotal." I stood by the side of Mr. Joseph Livesey, when he said to me, "That shall be its name." I was also present at a meeting held in the Cock Pit, when Mr. Edward Grubb, now a great advocate of the cause, came to the meeting and opposed one of the speakers; and Mr. Livesey stood up to speak after Mr. Grubb had sat down. I very well recollect Mr. Live-

sey saying to me, when Mr. Grubb was making a reply to what Mr. Livesey had said, "John, I wish that man would join the society." I told him that he would do so; and he did before he went home.'

Mr. CHARLES BRAZIER, of Manchester, is a specimen of a worker. He says:—

'I was born at Worcester in 1800, brought up under the eye of a pious mother to the age of nineteen, and was then a youth promising to be a blessing and support to my parents, an ornament to the Church of Christ, and to the world a pattern of what religious training can accomplish. I left home confident in my own self-sufficiency as my own keeper; but, alas for my firmness! it gave way under the influence of the drinking customs of the world, and I became a confirmed drunkard. I visited many towns. At length I found my way to Manchester. I at once entered the circle of fashion, because in Manchester I found the means to support my drinking propensities, following up the other propensities connected therewith, the dance, the theatre, cards, the horse race, and whatsoever else I called pleasure, until my course of life bowed down the strong man; and at the age of thirty-nine there was nothing left of me but a wreck. Disease through drink had begun to make inroads upon my constitution; and the maladies under which I now groan are the effects of my former reckless conduct. To sum up all in a word, it brought me down all but to a drunkard's grave and a drunkard's hell. I said "all but." I thank God that, although my prospects were blighted and darkness surrounded me, and although my body was become almost a skeleton, and hope seemed to have perished, in the year 1840 the sound of Temperance saluted my ear, and the bright star thereof shone upon my bedclouded mind, and hope appeared to brighten. I joined the Wilmot Street Society, of which I still am a member. My health was restored, and my mental capabilities were so far improved, that I became a new man, in body and mind. I now began to tell my fellow-workmen of the benefits I received from signing the pledge. I then ventured to speak in public; and since that time I have travelled some thousands of miles to advocate the cause which to me brought life and bodily health. I have held large open-air

open-air meetings in almost all the towns, hamlets, and villages for twenty or thirty miles around Manchester, with success. I believe hundreds—nay, thousands—have been led to sign the pledge through my instrumentality. I have held hundreds of meetings on Camp Field, composed of from eight to ten thousand persons at a time, at one of which one hundred signed the pledge. At Altrincham and Middleton I have been equally successful. I was one of a few who formed a society at which four thousand signed the pledge in one year. Thus I went on for sixteen years, doing all I could to benefit the country by making men and women sober; and I am thankful my labour was not in vain. Four years ago, another star arose, and shed its mild, benign influence upon my heart. "It was the star of Bethlehem." It shone brighter and brighter, until the full blaze of gospel light burst upon me.'

We might select many similar cases; but turning now to ministers of religion we find the Rev. James Bardsley testifying that he was one of the first clergymen in the United Kingdom who became a teetotaler, twenty-five years ago. We have also a sketch of Father Mathew, Dr. Spratt, Dr. McKerrow, the Rev. John Gutteridge, Canon Jenkins. We give the statement of the Rev. G. T. Fox, of Durham, as a specimen of the influence of the Alliance movement on teetotalism:—

"I joined the United Kingdom Alliance at a very early period after its organization, under the conviction that improved legislation in reference to the liquor traffic was essential to the well-being of the community, and that every step in the direction of the total prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks would be a decided gain. I was invited to preach one of the inaugural sermons in Manchester, on the 8th of June, 1857, before the ministerial conference held in that city, and to take the chair on the first day. The result of my intercourse with those who came together on that occasion, and I may particularly specify the address of the Hon. Neal Dow, was a much deeper conviction of the evils of drunkenness in our land than I had ever before entertained. Although my convictions were strong before, they were now so intensified that I resolved to use every means in my power to counteract the monster vice of our

land. Up to that period I had not been a total abstainer, having been restrained by many popular principles, which were all swept away by the strong convictions of the magnitude of the evil produced on my mind on that occasion. I may here remark that I had previously arrived at a thorough persuasion that intoxicating drinks are neither necessary nor beneficial to persons in health, and that just in proportion as they act on the frame of a healthy person it is for evil and not for good. In short, I had so far corrected my notions, and escaped from the common physical superstition of mankind, as no longer to regard intoxicating drinks in the light of food or nourishment, but simply as medicine. The limited use of such drinks in which I had previously indulged, I had for some time regarded only in the light of luxury and self-indulgence; when, therefore, the question came before me in all its pungency and force, intensified by a distinctive view of the widespread ruin and misery caused by the use of intoxicating drinks, it was simplified to this one point—Shall I, for the sake of so paltry a self-indulgence, refuse to do what I can to discourage the vice of drunkenness? It did not take long to solve this very simple question, and I became a total abstainer immediately after my return home from Manchester."

Medical men have not sent many of its eminent practitioners to the list of temperance reformers; but they are constantly adding. Dr. Mudge, of Bodmin, has long been known for his zealous efforts. We shall, however, allow Dr. HIGGINGTON, of Nottingham, to speak:—

"At a very early age a deep impression was made on my mind from frequently hearing and seeing the horrid effects of intoxicating drinks in my native town, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire; for scarcely did I hear of death, but it was in connection with the news, "He died of drink," or "She died of drink"—so that death and drink were to me synonymous terms. When about eighteen years of age, I made a most determined resolution not to take intoxicating drinks through life; a thought struck me, "I'll never be troubled with them." At the same time I was led to make some exceptions, thinking I might require wine in sickness, at the Lord's Supper, and in old

old age, if I lived so long ; but I soon abandoned these provisos, from a conviction that intoxicating wine was in all cases hurtful and unscriptural. When I was designed for the medical profession, an aged aunt was quite indignant at the thought, saying I was too delicate a boy ; that she was sure I could never endure the night-work and fatigue of the medical profession ; and that my father ought to have put me to his own profession—the law. Fifty-two years have now passed away since I made my resolution, and I can vouch for the blessings arising from abstaining from all intoxicating beverages, and that it has been my greatest temporal blessing. A great part of that time I endured great mental and physical exertion, loss of rest, and extremes of heat and cold. My plan of visiting my patients was generally one half the day on horseback, the rest on foot. At an early period of my practice, my labour might be said to have been continuous, not having a day of relaxation for twelve years, and my loss of rest almost incredible, having at one time only six entire nights' sleep during five weeks, and during one part of those five weeks only one night's sleep in nineteen nights. When I consider my labour and loss of sleep, I am fully assured that had I taken exhausting stimulants, such as alcoholic beverages, and had not been a total abstainer, it would not have been possible for me to have endured such mental and physical exertion, even had I possessed a strong constitution. My general health during that time was good. I had only during that long period two acute attacks of illness, arising from punctured wounds received professionally, and a severe attack of influenza in 1836, each illness so severe that had I not been an abstainer from intoxicating fluids I should, humanly speaking, have paid the debt of nature. I have now lived to be the senior medical man in the town of Nottingham, having seen sixty-six of my brethren, surgeons and physicians, pass away from the town—forty-five by death ; and though seventy-one years old, I have not a warning of old age, but am apt to think, from my physical and mental powers, that I am still a young man. Some of my early lessons in temperance I learned from Dr. James Gregory, professor of physic in the University of Edinburgh, whom I heard say : "Gentlemen, spirits are no

more fit for a Christian than they are for a Turk, and no more fit for a Turk than they are for a horse." He also said : "I never got a patient by water-drinking, but thousands by strong liquor." I had not been in practice more than a year when I abandoned the use of wine in typhus fever, afterwards in English cholera, then in uterine haemorrhage, in cases of exhaustion and sinking, delirium tremens, &c. ; and in many cases where medical men gave wine, brandy, &c., I never used them at all. I have published freely my opinions to medical men in various papers on the subject. I found that in acute diseases no alcoholic stimulants were required, and that chronic diseases were much more manageable without them, and with a greater certainty of cure. I have no hesitation in affirming that if all alcoholic stimulants were withdrawn, both from hospital and private practice, no harm would result—on the contrary, a great cause of disease would be removed, and what is now a formidable barrier to the cure of disease would be taken away. Personally, I never acquired the taste for intoxicating drinks, and I cannot remember my father or mother ever offering me wine or ale, &c., and, through Providence, I was not taught from any other source. It is now about twenty-five years since I banished all ardent spirits, wines, ales, and all fermented beverages from my house, considering them as thieves and murderers. Tobacco, another intoxicating agent of the same evil family, I never had in my house. When the temperance societies commenced I was fully prepared, as an ultra teetotaler, to abandon alcohol in every form, and join the society. At an early period I was chosen president of the Nottingham Total Abstinence Society. Some time afterwards the name was changed to the Nottingham Christian Temperance Society. I retained that office for more than twenty years. My great object has been to prevent and cure drunkenness. I have endeavoured to follow the straight line of duty, and have had nothing to do with the by-paths of expediency. My duty has been very plain—no medicine and no quackery ; all that was required was to abstain from all that would intoxicate, the only certain and effectual way of preventing and curing drunkenness. During the whole of my practice I have

have not found a single patient suffer from the want of alcoholic stimulants. I have been surrounded daily by about forty medical men, surgeons and physicians, not one of whom has ever told me, during the twenty-five years that I have followed the treatment, that I inflicted an injury on my patients by withholding alcoholic stimulants; but the question has been asked me how it affected my pecuniary interest. This I have disregarded altogether, as I fully counted the cost in the beginning, being assured that there would be not only loss of money but of reputation. This passage of Scripture was strongly impressed on my mind—"He that knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is sin." (James iv. 17.) The teetotaler has the same enemies to fight with as the Christian—the world, the flesh, and the devil; depraved appetites, worldly interests and customs; with ignorance, prejudice, and superstition.

We might go on to quote histories

from the experience of merchants and manufacturers, of whom we have portraits and histories, such as Alderman HARVEY, whom all teetotalers honour; Mr. GUEST, of Rotherham; the late Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, &c. We might introduce sketches of the learned at the bar and in literature, as Mr. Samuel Pope and Dr. Lees, whose portraits will be recognized. There are also some of the gentry, such as Sir Walter Trevelyan, the munificent patron of all social reform and the president of the United Kingdom Alliance; Sir John Stuart Forbes; and of others, such as the late James Simpson, Esq., always a liberal supporter of the temperance cause. But our space will not permit. Altogether, Mr. Caine and Mr. Lythgoe deserve great credit for their portraits by engravers and by printers. Though the list of reformers is somewhat one-sided and incomplete, we accept this instalment with gratitude, and commend it to our readers.

ART. VIII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

(This will henceforth form a feature in every Number.)

OFFICIAL STATISTICS ON INTOXICATING LIQUORS AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

HARD things are sometimes said against the 'public money wasted' on parliamentary printing. Blue books and Returns are, no doubt, occasionally too prolix and expensive; but a general charge, founded on exceptional cases, is essentially unjust, and of but little service in the cause of a rational economy. That 'nobody reads Blue-books and Returns' might be no fault of those productions or their authors; but that, too, is a statement as extravagant as the one which it is usually designed to cover. De Quincey pointedly says that 'Blue-books are often sneered at by the *ignorant* as so much waste paper.' Sure we are that all those documents which impart official information on the measure and mode of the consumption of intoxicating liquors are well worth all they cost the country, and would be worth still more if the lessons they enshrine were more eagerly scanned and more earnestly taken to heart. A Return very lately published in obedience to an order of the House of Commons (procured by Mr. Edward Baines, M.P.,

for Leeds) gives occasion for the foregoing remarks: and we shall proceed to present a summary, exceedingly condensed, of the valuable results which it embodies. This object we may best attain by asking and answering several questions. The Return relates to the years 1851-9, inclusive, with the first half-year of 1860; but it will be necessary for us, having an eye to our limited space, to confine ourselves pretty much to the last year of the series. Our inquiries will then occupy the following order:—

What, in regard to the United Kingdom, are the facts of the Return for 1859?

What is the relation of each of the countries in the United Kingdom to its collective result?

What is the relation of 1859 to the foregoing years included in the Return?

1. As to the United Kingdom, the facts call for a threefold classification: the intoxicating liquor consumed by the people of the United Kingdom; the public channels of its supply; and the pecuniary interest of the government in regard to the consumption and supply.

1. The alcoholic liquor consumed must not be confounded with the quantity made or imported, nor even always

with the quantity charged duty for consumption. This will be seen by the following comparison:—

	British Spirits (Gin, Whiskey, &c.)	Foreign Spirits (Various).	Colonial Spirits (Rum).	Total.
Charged with Duty .	Gals. 24,253,553	Gals. 1,357,509	Gals. 3,575,139	Gals. 29,186,201
Actually Consumed .	Gals. 23,729,026	Gals. 1,357,509	Gals. 3,575,139	Gals. 28,661,674

The quantities of wine imported were 8,195,513 gallons; those charged duty, 7,263,046 gallons; those retained for consumption, 6,775,992 gallons. Of malt, the quantities charged with duty were 44,219,300 bushels; besides which 5,159,894 bushels were used in distilleries, and 301,204 bushels exported, both of which amounts were free of duty. The total number of bushels made was, therefore, 49,680,398. The malt charged duty was of course made into ale and beer, which may be estimated at about 19½ millions of barrels, or 666 millions of gallons. This mass of distilled and fermented liquor contained at least 60 millions of gallons of alcohol, more than three-fourths of which was consumed in the shape of ale, beer, and wine. As cider and perry are not subjected to an excise impost, there is no official record of the

quantities manufactured and used, all of which are in addition to the quantities above accounted for.

2. The public channels of supply—in other words, the liquor traffickers—are minutely described in the Return before us. The manufacture of ardent spirits is in the hands of distillers and rectifiers; the former, 176 (England 16, Scotland 125, Ireland 35); the latter, 158 (England 104, Scotland 9, Ireland 45). The brewers number 40,389 (England 40,019, Scotland 245, Ireland 125). The above may be taken to indicate distinct persons; but when we come to the 'licences issued for the sale of wine, beer, and spirits respectively,' we have no authoritative index as to the separate individuals selling, or places of sale occupied by them. The licences for the wholesale traffic are thus classified:—

		Wine.	Spirits.	Beer.	Total.	
England		1,470	1,568	1,578	4,616	
Scotland		19	70	45	134	
Ireland		126	133	316	575	
United Kingdom. .		1,615	1,771	1,939	5,325	

All licences are issued by the Excise, but those granted for the retail traffic are of two kinds,—those which depend, and those which do not, on the produc-

tion of a magisterial certificate, which must be applied for at the Brewster Sessions. The retail licences were as follows:—

	With Magisterial Certificates, &c.				Without Magis- terial Certificates. Retailers of Beer under 1 Wm. IV., c. 64.
	Wine.	Spirits.	Beer.	Total.	
England . . .	25,941	62,437	64,372	152,750	43,801
Scotland . . .	4,189	11,938	410	16,537	..
Ireland . . .	3,042	17,168	17,482	37,692	..
United Kingdom	33,172	91,543	82,264	206,979	43,801

In the year 1859, therefore, the licences granted by virtue of magistrates' certificates were 206,979, and by the operation of the English Beer Act 43,801. How many of the former represent separate places of sale cannot be more than approximately settled. Each magistrates' certificate entitled the presentee to take out one, two, or three licences, on payment of the fees; and it may be presumed that every presentee took out a beer licence. Hence the beer licences (except in Scotland, where there is a common beer and spirit licence,) are the largest in number, and may be considered to represent, both for England and Ireland, the number of licensed-victualling vendors. For the United Kingdom, we may, therefore, roughly estimate the whole number to be thus distri-

buted:—England 64,372, Scotland (11,938+410)=12,348, Ireland 17,168, a total of 93,888; to whom the 43,801 beer retailers of England must be joined, offering to view an array of 137,689 persons licensed by the State to carry on by retail this baneful traffic.

3. The pecuniary interest of the government in the maintenance of this system is a point of most painful interest. It is our business here to deal only with the figures of the question. The revenue thus procured is derived (1) from the tax imposed on the liquors sold or the materials used in their manufacture; and (2) from the sale of licences, without which no traffic in them is legal.

(1) Of these sources of revenue the first is immensely the more prolific.

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
British Spirits	£. 4,236,819	£. 2,849,562	£. 2,615,379	£. 9,701,760
Foreign "	915,586	58,510	46,318	1,020,414
Colonial "	1,360,744	64,123	35,307	1,460,174
Ardent Spirits	6,513,149	2,972,195	2,697,004	12,182,348
Malt	3,241,914	122,497	171,777	3,536,188
Wine	1,842,163

It thus appears that from the duties on various liquors the exchequer received £17,560,699*l.*

(2) The second source of revenue—the sale of licences—brought in, from England 866,300*l.*, Scotland 90,310*l.*, Ireland 97,352*l.*, a total of 1,053,962*l.* (The tax on malsters' licences is not included in this account.) We have, in this double set of figures, a key to the problem, why the Excise officials manifest more activity in the suppression of illicit distillation or malting, than in the suppression of illicit vending.

II. We have been compelled to fore-stall some replies to the second general query on the relation of the several countries forming the United Kingdom to the aggregate of the liquors consumed and traded in. Something, however, remains to be said on this point. As to the consumption of ardent spirits, Scotland is first, Ireland second, and England (slightly) the last. Of every nine persons in the United

Kingdom, one resides in Scotland, two in Ireland, and six in England. If the consumption of spirits in each had been in equal proportion, it would have been about 32 gills (one gallon) per head; but the actual average consumption was (about) in England, 28 gills, Scotland 56 gills, and Ireland 29 gills per head. The consumption of wine is probably about equal among the wine-consuming classes of each kingdom. As to malt liquor, our only guide is the quantity of malt charged duty in each country; and assuming that the consumption in each is about equivalent to the manufacture in each, a comparison would show that, whereas the average consumption, proportioned to population, would be $22\frac{3}{4}$ gallons in each country, the actual consumption is, for England, 610 million gallons = $31\frac{1}{4}$ gallons per head, Scotland 24 million gallons = 7 per head, and Ireland 32 million gallons = 5 per head. Allowing, even, for the greater use of English-made beer and ales in the two

other countries, the proportion will not be seriously disturbed.

III. How 1859 compares with preceding years, as to drink-making and drink-consuming, is a question which we can barely touch upon. In England the consumption of spirits (except of the foreign sorts) is evidently increasing. With the exception of 1855, the march of British spirits has been steadfastly and terribly upwards: and with malt liquor it is the same. The retail licences have also multiplied in every department; the publicans' from 60,870 in 1851, to 64,372; the beer-retailers' from 41,574 to 43,801.

In Scotland, under the combined influence of the Forbes Mackenzie Act and a more than doubled tax on whiskey (4s. up to 8s. 2d.) the whiskey-gallons

emptied in 1859 were one-fifth fewer than in 1851, and the licences have diminished from 14,846 to 12,348. In Ireland, where the increase of duty has been even greater than in Scotland (from 3s. up to 8s. 2d.), the consumption has fallen one-fourth, though the licences have risen from 14,657 to 17,482; a fact which somewhat favours the supposition that illicit distillation has extensively revived, though the Excise officers discredit the imputation. Here we stop.

Sufficient has been quoted to show the importance of this Parliamentary Return, and the unbounded importance of using, and extending, all available resources for driving intemperance, and its physical causes, from our native shores.

ART. IX.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE great social event of the past quarter, claiming special attention of 'Meliora,' is the fourth annual congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, which was held at Glasgow under the presidency of Lord Brougham. We should be glad, were we able, to present our readers with an ample summary of the very interesting proceedings of the congress; but as that is impossible, we must select, out of the multifarious details of subjects, plans, and suggestions, several of those points which may be deemed specially appropriate as fraught with needful, moral, and social lessons, or as paving the way for great legislative measures of amelioration.

Law reform, prison reform, sanitary reform, social reform, and every kind of reform that can interest the philanthropist or engage the statesman, have our earnest sympathy and willing co-operation. They are all, by turns, discussed in 'Meliora,' and to each and all we contribute such aid as their relative importance seem to claim, and as our resources can yield. But there is one reform, which seems to us to lie at the threshold or at the foundation of all other reforms, be they social, moral, or political; and which, therefore, has our most cordial and persistent advocacy. We allude to the temperance movement in its various phases, but especially in its national and legislative

aspects. It cannot, therefore, fail to be highly gratifying and encouraging to find that the temperance cause is becoming, year by year, more and more distinctly and emphatically recognized by the Social Science Association, and by its noble president, as one of the prominent topics of discourse and discussion at the annual congress.

As at Bradford, the previous year, the veteran president, Lord Brougham, in his inaugural address spoke out with emphatic utterance on this great question of national intemperance. But on this occasion the 'old man eloquent,' not only denounced the 'drink-denion,' but he put the seal of his high approval upon a specific measure, which promises, if energetically taken up by the legislature, and placed upon the statute book, to remedy and remove that great national curse which for ages has baffled the efforts and mocked the hopes of all social reformers.

The Council of the Association set apart one whole day for the consideration of the question of intemperance and its remedies. A number of earnest and carefully-written papers were read and discussed with great attention. The forcible retention of confirmed victims of alcoholic stimulants, in a separate class of 'inebriate asylums,' was ably advocated; and attention was drawn to the present state of the law, which sends a man to a lunatic asylum during a fit of delirium tremens, but sets

sets him at liberty as soon as the violent symptoms have passed away, although it is well known to everybody concerned that the poor patient will succumb to the surrounding temptations, and relapse into delirium after a few weeks' release from restraint.

The physiological influence of alcoholic stimulants was ably treated by Dr. Smith, the physician of the Consumption Hospital at Brompton. The leading points brought out were, that alcoholic drinks immediately affect the brain, and produce an injurious effect there, extending rapidly over the whole system, and attacking every vital organ of the system; that alcoholic drinks can never be considered nourishing; and that they do not produce animal heat. Several other excellent papers were read and discussed, including a very able one on the futility and fallacy of the licence system as a means of protecting public morals.

The question of Indirect Taxation, its wasteful and burdensome nature, as compared with direct taxation, was elaborately treated before one of the sections of the congress by Duncan McLaren, Esq. The particular tax referred to by Mr. McLaren was the duty on spirits; but, unfortunately for the cogency of the argument, one of the objections valid on fiscal grounds had to be admitted as no objection at all on moral grounds. It was argued that every such tax inevitably causes decreased consumption to some extent, and thus lessens the return from the fixed capital previously invested in the trade. It was also admitted by Mr. McLaren that the increased tax on spirits could be 'defended on social grounds, as having a tendency to repress intemperance, the great source of poverty and crime.' This tendency of increased duty on spirits to cause a decreased consumption was explicitly denied by Mr. Bright at the meeting of the Financial Reformers at Liverpool about a year ago, when he was breaking the ice for the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's light wine budget. Nor has Mr. Bright ever retracted that political heresy, although it is manifestly contrary to the tenor of all his own teachings, as well as against the fixed creed of his party, and of all political economists of the present age.

But other statesmen, on other platforms, have also been speaking to and lecturing the people. Indeed, it may

now be said emphatically that 'the statesman is abroad.'

We have had most of the cabinet ministers addressing the people on social, political, or foreign affairs. At Leeds we have had Lord Palmerston delivering a discourse on ragged schools, and saying: 'If we rescue from vice and crime a vast number of these unhappy children, who, if left to the hazards and temptations to which their condition exposes them, would become criminals and victims of the law, I say that you will be conferring an enormous benefit upon society.' The premier was reminded, by a gentleman present, that it was better to prevent the necessity for ragged schools; and the fact was officially stated to his lordship that none of the children receiving the benefit of the institution were belonging to teetotal parents. His lordship would, no doubt, reflect upon that statement; but, of course, he will not be willing to relinquish the revenue derived by the state from 'the great source of poverty and crime.'

Mr. Gladstone has spoken at Chester on the volunteer movement, commanding it on broad if not high grounds of statesmanship, as a preparation for certain possible hostile contingencies.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll has been addressing a Manchester audience in the Free Trade Hall. The question dilated upon was non-political, and related to education as connected with the Mechanics' Institutes, &c. The speech was sound, sagacious, and manly, such as befitted the occasion, and reflected honour upon the noble duke, who, with the duchess, during their stay in Manchester, let it be seen and known that they neither drank wine nor strong drink as an ordinary beverage.

The President of the Poor Law Board, Mr. Thomas Milner Gibson, has addressed his constituents at Ashton, dwelling very much upon the advantages of the French Treaty, and especially dilating upon the light wines that are coming into the country in such copious streams of beneficence and goodwill from our ancient and national enemy, who has now been converted into a good customer and fast friend. Mr. Gibson did not tell his constituents that the heavy wines of Spain and Portugal are coming in even faster than the lighter qualities of France; and that, indeed, scarcely any

any really 'light' wine will find its way to John Bull, nor would he care for the sour stuff if he got hold of it.

At Tavistock we have had Sir John Trelawney treating upon the Treaty, the Paper Duty, the Ballot, our War Expenditure, &c. Mr. Berkeley has made another ballot speech. Mr. Bass, the brewer, has tried to be statistical in a new direction, having counted the number of times each member of the House of Commons opened his mouth during the session. He made a special thrust at the member for the Tower Hamlets, Mr. A. S. Ayrton; and that honourable gentleman has returned the compliment in appropriate terms. The pale ale brewer will be cautious, in future, how he foams at Mr. Ayrton, who is not unacquainted with either the tactics or the tricks of the trade. Another M.P. brewer, Mr. Buxton, has announced, in one of his public addresses, that a valuable substitute has now been adopted, or is about to be adopted, by the London brewers. He does not think they have used it before. The only drawback to the excellent qualities of the 'bitter' ingredient is, that it has been calculated that it will kill fifteen per cent. extra of their customers. But, notwithstanding that trifling difficulty, the strychnine must be used, and perish their customers must. Surely some member will ask the honourable gentleman, when the House sits, to explain the political economy and ethics of this wonderful discovery.

At Greenock, Mr. Dunlop, M.P., in discoursing before his constituents, declared himself favourable to the extension of the wine licence scheme of the Chancellor to Scotland; but, at the same time, he also declared that he would be favourable to the permissive power being given to the people to sweep away the whole liquor traffic. At Exeter, the other day, Sir L. V. Palk, bart., M.P., presided over a meeting in favour of the Permissive Bill as expounded by Dr. F. R. Lees. The worthy baronet delivered an able and eloquent speech, and said that a more important resolution than the one adopted by the meeting had never been confided to him, and that he should have the utmost pleasure in forwarding it to the Premier and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. John Bright has addressed large

meetings at Birmingham, Wakefield, and Leeds, on all the most stirring and important topics of the day, with but one exception. And, unfortunately, that is an exception Mr. Bright always studies to make. He could not so utterly and constantly avoid the great question of the intemperance of the nation if he did not deliberately and purposely resolve to shun it. He never makes a speech, but the question seems to lie right before him and invite his attention; but he always manages to skip it, shirk it, or blink it. He cannot be blind to it, and yet he will not see it, or, at least, he will not say a word about it, though he must know that millions would respond to any honest utterance from his eloquent lips on that great question of real and practical philanthropy, as well as of wise and magnanimous statesmanship, the repression of intemperance by the permissive power of the people.

In America we have seen a magnificent struggle, and a glorious result. The dominance of the slave power in the Federation Council is now, we may hope, destroyed. Freedom now breathes freer, and all the hopes of humanity have a more glorious future. The crisis is not over, but the die has been cast, and Liberty waves her star-spangled banner aloft.

On the continent of Europe we have another glorious spectacle—a UNITED ITALY—free, with a self-acquired liberty. Rome and Venetia have not yet been rescued from the Austrian and French bayonets; but Garibaldi has pledged his word; and none of his words, hitherto, have failed. May liberty be preserved and extended without any further effusion of human blood! but if anything is worth living or dying for, it is simply liberty and fatherland.

We have no space and no heart to refer to China, Australia, or India. English honour, English diplomacy, and English statesmanship do not shine with much splendour in these far-off regions.

Mr. Cobden has, at length, nobly completed his great diplomatic and statesmanlike achievement—the new commercial treaty with France. And in this magnanimous effort, Mr. Cobden has not only added to his former world-wide renown, as a clear-sighted and honest-hearted statesman, but he has laid the foundation of national prosperity

prosperity and of international amity, we doubt not, for centuries to come. The only great drawback we can perceive is one which Mr. Cobden, we would fain believe, has rather accepted from the political exigencies of the case than deliberately chosen and adopted. If Mr. Cobden has not forgotten or recanted some of his own once deeply cherished sentiments, even he cannot but regret that feature of his great commercial treaty, which will facilitate the exchange of the solid and most useful products of English soil and English labour—our coal, and iron, and earthenwares, for the delusive and pernicious French wines, an article which as diet is utterly worthless, as a luxury is deleterious; but as a means of intoxication is only calculated further to demoralize and impoverish the people. The only way open to Mr. Cobden to redeem himself from the moral responsibility of this blunder, will be for him to join heart and hand in the great movement in behalf of a Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Law.

At Glasgow a memorial has been adopted and extensively signed, praying the municipal authorities to pro-

hibit street-smoking; and in the Manchester City Council, on the motion of Mr. Fieldes, a memorial was unanimously adopted, praying the government to institute an inquiry into the effect of capital punishments, with a view to their abolition.

Co-operative institutions, street railways, a system of cheap telegrams, the deodorizing of town sewage, steam agriculture, and various other schemes of improvement, social and mechanical, are being initiated and put into practical operation, the results of which, there can be no doubt, will tend to inaugurate a yet higher and happier state of civilization and social well-being.

The nation and the world have recently had to mourn the decease of some of our great men who have been in the foremost ranks of action or council in connection with those great events which give their impress upon the age and its history. Lord Dun-donald, better known as Lord Coch-rane, Admiral Sir Charles Napier, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duke of Norfolk, Baron Bunsen, and other names of illustrious mark, are now all inscribed upon the tablet of earth's departed great.

ART. X.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

Academic Reform and University Representation. By James Heywood, F.R.S., B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, London: Whitfield, 1860.

THE author of this volume has a right to claim the attention of the public. He acted as the pioneer of University Reform, and has been, from the first, successful in clearing away obstacles and defeating opposition. In 1848, his supporters presented a memorial to government in favour of an inquiry into the universities, and in 1850 royal commissioners were appointed to inquire into the 'State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the Universities and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.' The result of these inquiries was a bill of reform which introduced the following changes—The abolition of religious tests for inferior degrees, the opening of fellowships and scholarships to merit, the extension of the professionate, and a modification of

the existing university constitution. In carrying on the work of reform the commission had of course considerable difficulties to contend with. Old statutes were clung to with some tenacity and in most cases a compromise had to be effected. This fact accounts for the imperfection of the results attained. Reform must necessarily be progressive; and a reformer who at once proposes extreme measures often hinders the accomplishment of his ultimate object.

We cannot say that Mr. Heywood has been so successful in book-making as he has undoubtedly been in bill-making. He falls into a fault which is becoming too common amongst writers of the day. The chief merits of a compilation are just discrimination and careful arrangement; but these qualities require labour, which few compilers of facts now-a-days care to bestow on their works. A writer of newspaper correspondence may justly lay claim to some excuse for saying 'what comes uppermost,'

uppermost,' but we expect more methodical composition from a writer on university reform. The reader is disappointed, therefore, when he finds mingled together in curious confusion memorials, examination papers, short prayers, German rationalism, and American development.

Mr. Heywood apparently considers that no distinctive theological tenets should be held by the governing body of an university. They may, to be sure, recognize the existence of a Supreme Being (p. 296), but beyond that anything definite is injurious. In his discussions on this topic our author seems to confuse two things—religious tests and religious discipline. The former are not only injurious but futile, religious discipline, however, is necessary to the true life of a college, and unless tyrannically used as a substitute for a test can be open to no reasonable objection. The recognition of the fact that Christians have differences as well as more essential points of agreement will do more to promote a spirit of true charity than a spurious liberality which would merge all distinctive doctrines in a dim and hazy eclecticism. A liberality of this kind pervading a college would lead the authorities to look with much more dislike and intolerance on any student who held distinctive religious views than would exist under a true system of religious discipline kindly administered.

When a new Reform Bill shall have removed the few restrictions which still remain in the universities as the results of compromise, we shall see these venerable corporations becoming truly national and thoroughly educational, and sending forth year by year men fully equipped for their labour of life, and willing to lend a hand in helping forward every good word and work.

Historical and Descriptive Geography of Palestine, with Illustrations. By Joseph A. Meen.

Bible Months; or, the Seasons in Palestine, as illustrative of Scripture. By W. G. Grosier, F.G.S.

Branches running over the Wall; or, Incidents illustrative of the Collateral Benefits of Sunday-school Instruction. By R. E. Cranfield. London: Sunday-school Union.

THE Sunday-school Union has done great service to the Christian instruction of the young throughout this em-

pire; but its beneficial influence on teachers is not the least of its philanthropic works. By means of its serial literature—whose aggregate circulation in 1860 was 1,300,000,—its preparation and model classes, its conversazioni and its libraries, it has done much to develop the efficiency of a most useful class in the Christian church, Sunday-school teachers. In an age like the present, when common school instruction is advancing so rapidly under able and intelligent teachers, there is danger lest Sunday scholars, accustomed to such thorough education during the week, should not be sufficiently interested in the lessons of the Sabbath-day when they are under non-professional teachers. It is therefore of the highest consequence that Sunday-school teachers should cultivate their abilities and improve their adaptation to their work. They should be thoroughly informed on Bible doctrine and illustration, and be able to teach with tact. A great service is rendered to them by the publications of the various Sunday-school organizations throughout the country, and by none more so than by the Union which has issued the books on our table.

Mr. Meen's work on the *Geography of Palestine* is an admirable text-book. It is compiled with care, and written with clearness of style. Within small compass, it condenses much information. The subject is so intimately interwoven with the Holy Scripture, that it ought to be familiar to all teachers, who will not easily find so accurate a compendium as that which Mr. Meen's industry and skill have furnished them.

Bible Months contain a calendar of the Holy Land, and is a most ingenuous and instructive book. Every month of the year has its chapter full of matter on the seasons to elucidate the Bible. Accuracy is guaranteed by the best authorities, and interest is sustained by the happy style of description. Pictures, too, aid the realization of the scenes described. The other work contains sketches calculated to encourage the patient labour of Sunday-school teachers. It is well written, and fitted for the libraries of schools.

The serial publications for the year 1860 are, with a few exceptions, before us. They include two magazines for Sunday-school teachers; along with a 'Biblical Treasury' for illustrating Scripture, and 'Notes on Lessons,' and a Pocket-

a Pocket-book, elegant and useful, all full of suggestive matter; a magazine for young men, another for Bible classes, and a third for children, each skilfully edited and adapted to the intelligence of the youth. To these are added music both for congregations and schools. Select Psalmody, including many chants, has just been issued. When we mention that its only fault, in our esteem, is its size, readers may believe it has many excellences. Much good may be done by Sunday-school teachers regularly perusing such of the above as are suited to themselves, and endeavouring to get one magazine into the hands of each scholar of their respective classes. By such means the minds of teachers and scholars are kept interested all the week in the exercises of the Sunday.

Science and Suffering: Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Morison, D.D., LL.D., late Minister of Trevor Chapel, Brompton. By the Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: Ward and Co. 1860.

THIS volume traces the career and labours of a most excellent, zealous, and useful minister. It is performed with much judgment and good taste, and well calculated to instruct and stimulate the minds of all who peruse it. There is not too minute detail, while there is ample material for forming a right estimate of the man. This is biographic wisdom worthy of Mr. Kennedy's abilities. The book is divided into three parts—the learner, the worker, and the sufferer. The first contains an interesting sketch of the state of religion in the north of Scotland in the early part of the present century. The second exhibits a busy minister in the difficult sphere of the metropolis, where Dr. Morison not only provided for the spiritual instruction of a congregation, but conducted the 'Evangelical Magazine' for more than thirty years, and prepared several works for the press. In this we have quite a model of clerical devotedness and philanthropic zeal. The third part draws aside the veil of domestic life, and reveals a sufferer who for twenty-five years scarcely spent a whole night in bed, and whose family was thinned by very trying bereavements.

Our Exemplars, Poor and Rich; or, Biographical Sketches of Men and Women, who have, by an extraordinary

use of their opportunities, benefited their fellow-creatures. Edited by Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. With a Preface by Lord Brougham. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1861.

A very laudable effort is made in this book to hold up to admiration persons of eminent worth. It is not high talent, great wealth, or brilliant genius which is pointed out; but personal excellence in public usefulness. There are twenty-eight sketches of real philanthropists, several of them yet alive. They belong to different classes, from the king and the peer down to the humble domestic servant, and to various countries. Their walks of usefulness were such as can be followed by many; for in our world opportunities are numerous and necessities great. In this book 'social reformers' occupy an honourable position. By the extensive circulation of a volume so suggestive and stimulative, incalculable good will be done. Both Lord Brougham and Mr. Hill deserved a place among Our Exemplars; but that will yet be done for them which they have here done for others.

Mary Bunyan; or, The Dreamer's Blind Daughter. By S. R. Ford. *The Journey of Life.* By Catherine Sinclair.

Life in Israel. By Maria T. Richards. *Nemesis; or, The Avenger.* By the author of 'Alone.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THESE volumes belong to what is popularly known as 'The Run and Read Library,' which for high moral and often Christian tone stands quite at the head of libraries for railway reading. In 'Mary Bunyan' we read anew the touching story of the great dreamer's sorrows. They are vividly described by the writer, and must deeply interest readers.

Miss Sinclair's 'Journey of Life' contains many striking anecdotes of the good regarding the solemn realities of life in relation to a world to come. Though connected by the faintest thread of argument, the chapters will be perused with interest and profit in the homes of affliction.

'Life in Israel' exhibits the facts of Hebrew history in the attractive garb of tales, and the attempt is most creditable.

'Nemesis'

'Nemesis' has not much merit as a story.

Altogether we hail this library, and should rejoice to learn that its volumes find their way to the homes of the people by the book-hawkers who perambulate the country.

Sermons preached in Marlborough Chapel. By J. Gage Pigg, B.A. Second edition. London : Ward and Co.

THESE discourses are evidently the production of a mind highly cultivated and endowed with the gift of expressing noble thoughts in graceful eloquence. In some of them we should have liked a more distinct doctrinal utterance, especially where 'Reconciliation to God' is the theme. But it is hardly fair to judge an author's orthodoxy by his omissions in a volume of sermons, which represent but a small portion of his pulpit instruction. Yet when any preacher ventures into print we expect more in a discourse than might be contained in an average sermon. There are many beauties, much suggestive thought, and spirit-stirring appeals in the sermons of Mr. Pigg.

Pilgrimage from the Alps to the Tiber; or, the Influence of Romanism on Trade, Justice, and Knowledge. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D., author of 'The Papacy,' &c. Edinburgh : A. Elliot.

WE know of no volume of its class to compare with the one before us. For profound argument, impressive example, entertaining incident, graphic description, and lofty eloquence it stands alone in the realm of literature like Tabor among the mountains of Galilee. When travelling through Italy, Dr. Wylie kept both eye and ear open ; and while, on the one hand, he has been enwrapt with the sublime beauties of nature and art, he has, on the other, been unspeakably distressed with the moral and religious state of the different localities he visited. In this goodly volume he has honestly and fearlessly recorded his judgment of the relative merits of Romanism and Protestantism, viewed socially, commercially, and politically. Such a work most eminently deserves a place in every library throughout Christendom ; and no doubt will obtain it in the course of time.

Life in Bethany; or, the Words and Tears of Jesus. By the Rev. Edwin Davies. London : Heylin. 1860.

THE family of Bethany has occupied many pens, but this new volume is fresh and engaging. It is written with much taste, and pervaded by a generous sympathy and earnest piety, which make it eminently fitted to comfort the sorrowful and edify the Christian.

Tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation, as Commemorated at Edinburgh, August, 1860. With Introduction by the Rev. James Begg, D.D. Edited by the Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D. Edinburgh : Maclaren. 1860.

THIS volume contains many of the papers read, speeches delivered, sermons preached at the National Convocation at Edinburgh last autumn to commemorate the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. The sermon of Dr. Guthrie on 'God's Truth and Man's Freedom' is a noble production—sufficient to float the volume into fame; but we greatly regret that the editorial scissors were used in this masterpiece of Christian oratory which the audience could not hear without expressed enthusiasm. It is a splendid contribution to truth and liberty, and closely connected with social science. The other papers are worthy of their authors, and contain much information, some of it new, all of it interesting. The volume forms a valuable permanent record of a most becoming commemoration.

Lives made Sublime by Faith and Works. By the Rev. Robert Steel, author of 'Samuel the Prophet,' &c. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1861.

THIS volume is handsomely got' up, and contains a gallery of portraits deserving the study of those who would consecrate common life by Christian faith and works.

Altar Light: A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, D.D., London. By the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D., Glasgow. London : Nisbet and Co. 1860.

AN eloquent and merited eulogium on one of the most useful preachers of the metropolis. The sermon will be read with interest and pleasure.

Similitudes and Substance. By the Rev. John Cox, of Ipswich. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

MR. COX has unfolded with much tact sundry

sundry Old Testament parables and apogees, and delineated well some phases of the Saviour's character in this volume. Its application of divine truth to common life are admirable.

Cælebs in Search of a Cook. London : Blackwood.

OLD bachelors will find much refreshment and useful counsel in this racy book. But his views are not all sound on social subjects.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare adapted for Family Reading. By Thomas Bowdler, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. With Engravings. London and Glasgow : Griffin and Co. 1861.

WE only need to mention this edition to commend it to the family circles of our readers. Lord Jeffrey long ago, in the 'Edinburgh Review,' complimented Mr. Bowdler on the fine discrimination and good taste with which he had executed the difficult task of pruning Shakespeare. The praise was just. We can only add that this edition is very portable, and neatly printed.

Pamphlets.

Letter on the Debate in the House of Commons on Ragged and Industrial Schools. By Mary Carpenter. Bristol : Arrowsmith.

Few individuals are more entitled to a hearing on this subject than Miss Carpenter, who has devoted so much of her life to the reformation of poor and delinquent children. There are special reasons why she should receive respectful and considerate regard for the question introduced by this pamphlet. In the year 1856 the Committee of Privy Council passed a minute to give ragged and industrial schools a fair share of the money voted by Parliament for educational purposes. The effect of this was to stimulate voluntary effort, to erect new schools, and to provide for an additional number of neglected children. Yet strange to relate, the Committee of Council recently passed another minute almost undoing what they had so auspiciously begun, and reducing the aid to these schools. The immediate result has been to cripple the energies of friends of ragged schools. Dr. Guthrie's school in Edinburgh received this year 225*l.*,

instead of 840*l.* in 1859. The school in Bristol, in which Miss Carpenter takes so deep an interest, instead of a half of the expenditure, as in former years, received only one-sixth. Another received 84*l.* instead of 332*l.* The matter was brought before the House of Commons last session by Sir John Pakington; but his motion to give the ragged and industrial schools a fair proportion of aid from public money was lost. It is hoped that the right honourable baronet will repeat his motion during the ensuing session with more success, and to further this Miss Carpenter's letter ought to be in the hands of every member of Parliament.

Charge of Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Birmingham, delivered to the Grand Jury of that Borough at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, 8th Oct., 1860.

Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, contained in Charges to Grand Juries of Birmingham, supported by additional facts and arguments. By M. D. Hill. London : J. W. Parker and Son. 1857.

WE class these two together, for they belong to a series of important charges delivered by the learned author during the last twenty-one years. The volume contains twenty-two of these, along with much additional matter connected with the great 'social questions' so ably discussed. Mr. Hill has been a social reformer of long standing. *Cheap literature* is indebted to him for its tone of ability and popular style. *Reform of criminal law* received his active support when he was in Parliament, standing beside Sir S. Romilly and Sir J. Mackintosh. *Prison discipline* has had in him an intelligent advocate, and the *reformation of prisoners* an earnest and persevering friend. But *prevention of crime*, no less than its healthful punishment, has occupied his attention, and to this his last charge is chiefly directed. For this, five years ago, he supported the Maine law, and nine years ago he was the means of assembling a conference at Birmingham to consider the best means of preventing crime by the reformation of youth. Age seems to increase his tender sympathies, and to draw forth his concern for the rising generation. In his recent charge he deplores the reduction of aid by Government to ragged and industrial schools, and says,

says, 'I must unite my humble protest to the masterly argument of Sir JOHN PAKINGTON in the House of Commons, the fervid appeals of Dr. GUTHRIE, and the unanswerable remonstrances of MARY CARPENTER against the huckstering frugality with which our ministers let go their coin, shilling by shilling, to the ragged schools—a parsimony which, when contrasted with the plenitude of our munificence in favour of classes in the community able and willing to contribute to the education of their children, strikes me as the most astounding example of inconsistency which has occurred in my time.' To support such schools, Mr. Hill advocates the union of voluntary and state aid. The body of subscribers become responsible for its management, and the state by local or general taxation and efficient inspection secures the adequate support and public confidence. It is very important that these be both maintained, that voluntary and state effort may work harmoniously.

Beacon Lights for British Youth.
Edited and partly written by J. Harding. Nos. 1—4. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THESE tracts all bear directly against the fleshly sins of youth, and are able, earnest, and pointed.

Apostolic Nephritis; or, the Teetotalers and the Dean of Down. Liverpool.

A SPIRITED exposé of the dean's logic.

Self-Culture: Intellectual, Moral, and Religious. By the Rev. John Jeffrey, of the Presbyterian Church, Gateshead.

WE are always gratified when ministers of religion exercise their influence for encouraging the thoughtful development of young men. The lecture before us is an admirable specimen of stimulus given to youth by a superior and well-informed mind.

The Total Abstinence Movement. A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Todd, M.A., Rector of Newtown, Lincolnshire.
By John Hunt. Grantham: L. Ridge.

THIS letter was called forth by a sermon of the divine in which total abstinence was rather ungenerously dealt with. Mr. Hunt took up the defensive, and in good temper, good sense, and good logic replied.

Confessions of an Old Smoker, respectfully addressed to all Smoking Disciples. London: Elliot Stock. 1860.

THIS ought to be placed in the hands of all smokers, but especially of those who, though teetotalers, continue attached to the Indian weed. Its arguments apply with great force to smoking ministers.

The Compressed Air-Bath: a Therapeutic Agent in various affections of the Respiratory Organs, and other Diseases. By R. B. Grindrod, M.D., LL.D., F.L.S., G.S., R.G.S., &c., Author of 'Bacchus.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE compressed air-bath has been a most useful therapeutic agent, as testified by the various cases recorded in this pamphlet. Dr. Grindrod has done a service to medical science and to the afflicted by its publication.

The Claims of the Temperance Movement on Christian Ministers. By the Rev. Richard Jones. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance.

THE arguments on this most important subject are exceedingly well put in the pamphlet before us. The extent of the liquor traffic and of drunkenness, the results of the drinking system, and the remedies proposed, are discussed with clearness, and pressed upon ministers of religion with great force of reasoning. This ought to be placed in the hands of all Christian clergymen.

The argument has no sectarianism, but is pervaded with general philanthropy.

ERRATUM,

In page 203, note. The common potato is not 'Atropa belladonna,' but 'Solanum tuberosum.'

